772 *sonx̣ʷ'*. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *sonx̣ʷ'* as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the spaces between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the
[811] dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola characteristic. This flat land is called *dāsonxʷ'dä* or *wasonx̣ʷ' wawułkłoqosił*. It is illumined by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The
[821] relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying canoe through the space between the world
[538] and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain
[424] by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

772 The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind
773 that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the
[776] supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 39) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, but after a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Sałwalosam*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

772 As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that
821 seen by mortals is attached to the land above, so is this upper

sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky 772
is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land [821]
in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on
this subject, but for some time no one could be found with 772
knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people 184
remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago
had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit
man was able to furnish definite information. He explained
that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; [424]
others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their
property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts
contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently,
an upper land, superimposed above that which is
immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella
Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by
only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance 772
and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living
in the intermediate land it is a far-off place; in fact, their
attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals
regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can,
when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nuqwliäls*.
A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from [821]
that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this
upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth
or the land immediately above. No human being has ever [773]
reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was
brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola
know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited [775]
by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial
and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

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[1] At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old [178]
beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might
be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to
know. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in
recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away.

not systematized; if a man is asked about the powers or func- 771
tions of a certain supernatural being, he will usually answer by 776 *
recounting a story in which that being appears. What is known
respecting many of the lesser supernatural beings depends upon [424
information contained in stories, and as many of these are
personal possessions, it follows that there is tremendous vari- 184]
ation in individual knowledge. Psychologically, this is of little
importance; there are enough supernatural beings for every-
one to know some of them, and to expect to meet or hear them
in the forests. To insert many of the stories contained in later
chapters would break the sequence of description; all that is
here attempted is to give a general summary, in a way foreign
to Bella Coola thought.

Supernatural beings are by no means all-powerful. It is 776 *
true that they have miraculous powers and can work weal or
woe to human beings who chance to come in contact with them,
but likewise they may sometimes be overwhelmed by mortals
armed with objects steeped in human essence, such as a blanket
which has been worn until it is impregnated not only with the
smell, but the physical being of its owner. In particular, [756]
shamans or other mortals of great strength have been able to
conquer the supernatural ones. Consequently, it may be said
that although supernatural beings live on a plane different
from that of mortals, they are not omnipotent. Long, long [773]
ago, man was able to come in contact with them more fre-
quently, but that golden age when the semi-mythical ancestors 776 *
of the Bella Coola were living has long since passed away, 178
though it is only within the last few years that such beings,
particularly supernatural animals, have become comparatively
rare. The Bella Coola give three main reasons for this:

(1) Supernatural animals do not like the sound of muskets and have moved far away.

(2) With increasing dependence on the canning industry, fewer hunters penetrate into their haunts in the distant parts of the mountains.

(3) The younger Bella Coola no longer take pains to purify themselves as a means of placating supernatural beings.

rate most of them, are carefully used in accordance with the 776*
functions of this supreme deity. As a Bella Coola has many
names, corresponding to his membership in various societies, [551]
his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and mere
nicknames, so has *Ăłquntäm*, who is a superman, many names,
according to his special functions. It would be unthinkable
for a Bella Coola to pray to *Ăłquntäm*, yet it is common for [782]
him to pray to *Mınakais* or *Tätä*, other names for the same
being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches
the point of obscuring the unity of *Ăłquntäm*, which
in fact, some Bella Coola even deny. They state that *Sınxälotła*,
Mınakais, *Smaiɑlotła*, and *Nuẋɛkmälsaix* are one, but
that *Ăłquntäm*, *Snusılkäls*, and *Nonodjonostɛm* are three distinct
supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents
no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own [424]
myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes these, 184
without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even possible
for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, [771]
if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths.
Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether
the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation
of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or
whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a
number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great
majority of the Bella Coola, the supreme deity will be referred
to as *Ăłquntäm*.

The most obvious attribute of *Ăłquntäm* is connected with 776*
the sun. He can enter it and use it as if it were his canoe. In 821
form he resembles a man, and when he takes charge of the sun
it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling, radiant
boat with windows through which he looks forth. It is said
that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but
the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense
heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Ăłquntäm* enters
the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon; [825]
reversing this causes the rivers on earth to teem with salmon.

773 hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Älquntäm* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Älquntäm* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nusmät·a.* A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

177 773 This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's [551 424] most treasured possessions are the name brought down from above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first ancestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a [622 554 567] chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nusmät·a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[775] *Nusmät·a* is not only connected with the history of an indi-

the rescue of *Łxwumxwumlaix* they saw him being carried downstream 776* to a salmon-weir about three hundred yards below. The trap was raised [539] at once, but it was too late; the rash fisherman was dead. No one could give a name to the supernatural being who had caused his death; it was [761] merely one of those dwelling under the river.

Whales, too, are sometimes observed in the rivers, but [825] though they appear to resemble those of the ocean they are really their supernatural prototypes.

These human-like dwellers beneath the water can, as in [761] this case, cause death, but they are usually regarded as uncanny rather than dangerous. But there is one undersea being whom the Bella Coola regard with unmixed awe; he is *Q̇omoqwa* (see Plate 10), lord of the supernatural ones beneath the ocean, as *Ǎłquntäm* is lord of those dwelling above. He lives in an enormous house under the sea wherein the fish, the sea-mammals, and the sea-plants have their home. The Bella Coola believe that these beings can take human form at will,[18] and assume that their behaviour in *Q̇omoqwa*'s dwelling corresponds to that of human beings in the house of an earthly chief. In the beginning of time, when men were more powerful 773 than in recent years, this house sometimes rose to the surface 776* of the water and adventurous Bella Coola entered it on various occasions, leaving to their descendants tales of the wonders it contained. These accounts have become family myths and [424] ● are described with others of similar type in Chap. VI, vol. I. Records of this kind vary greatly in detail; in fact, few agree [184] more than in broad outline. Sometimes it is stated that denizens of the sea appear in *Q̇omoqwa*'s house in the flesh; other myths describe paintings of sea creatures around the walls and the manner in which these are brought to life by *Q̇omoqwa*. Irrespective of the exact details, it is clear that he is chief of the undersea beings who serve him and hunt for him, the blackfish being especially proficient in this respect. *Q̇omoqwa* resents any slight to his protégés and punishes any mortal who is unkind to them.

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[18] Bella Coola concepts concerning the transformability of men and animals will be described in the next section of this chapter.

000 Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

● 424 Before leaving the subject of supernatural animals, a word must be said concerning the attitude of the Bella Coola to
773 those in whose forms their first ancestors came to earth. If,
825 for example, a man's first ancestor descended as a raven, this knowledge is a valuable possession of himself and his family.
[556] Indeed, the most treasured possessions of a Bella Coola are not the material objects collected by him through life, but the intangible rights wrapped up in his ancestral history. These are referred to under four names:

(1) *Smaiusta*, "Preserved Story"; the myth describing the coming to earth of a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(2) *Kəłełta*, "What Was Sent Down"; the names and other possessions given by *Ăłquntām* to a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(3) *Tx̣ämätł*, "Whence We Came"; the place to which a man's first ancestors came in the beginning of time, and the one from which they have since spread.

(4) *Q̇watłtunta*.

Various *smaiusta* are recorded in vol. I, chap. VI, and the second and third terms are really part of the first, although to the Bella Coola they are psychologically distinct. *Q̇watłtunta* is the word used for both the birds or animals chosen as cloaks by the first settlers, and also for creatures with which the early people came in contact. The nearest interpretation
424 appears to be, "Crest." When a Bella Coola whose first an-
773 cestor came to earth as a raven portrays that bird, it serves as
825 a visible mark of his intangible possession. In former days,
211 if a man carved on stone so that his work and his name would never be forgotten, it was a *q̇watłnekam*, a constant reminder of his greatness to generations then unborn. A *q̇watłtunta*, therefore, combines the concept of *memorial* with that of *crest*, so that Bella Coola speak of the white man's memorials as *q̇watłtunta*. In brief, a man regards the form assumed by his ancestor when coming to this earth as an emblem of the

ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter connected 211
with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride 424
to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not 773
affect his daily life.

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of 825
the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly
bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon,
sḳämtsk, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, [776] *
sisiutł. To these must be added the sun, because some of the
original people came to earth in human form by sliding down
his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nułtnikta*, the posts which [772]
stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number
of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form.
The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly [829]
common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. According [772]
to some accounts it was these posts which supported
the first sky until it fell.

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant 424
past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven 779
pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The
matter was approached from every possible angle and not the 825
slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said:

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid
enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same
animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He
said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians [648]
from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once
asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the

● 424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
779 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his
825 stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the
experience, and added that though he was quite willing to
accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning
them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola
have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of
exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
424 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral
773 myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a
painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of
the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delinea-
[304] tion is a memento of family history. For that reason a man
is often tattooed[33] with his crest, that derived from his father's
first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the
left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow.
After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his
grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more
crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

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[171] [33]It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal
tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated them-
[184] selves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been
common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with
potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed
within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The
first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the
second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath
[386] the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time
and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready
for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman
might perform the operation.

It is said, half
jocularly, that a man grows to resemble his ancestral cloak; 424 ●
if, for example, one man's is the eagle, his hair turns white 773
early, whereas that of another with raven crest long preserves 825
its blackness. More definite, is the use as a signal for attack, of
a whistle imitating the cry of the leader's bird or animal. [726]
Finally, when a man whose crest is the raven hears one of these
birds calling, he cries out:

"Hello, *q̣watltuntao* [the vocative form], it is as you say."

This custom is probably due to a belief in the ability of ravens to bear news.

On the whole the attitude of the Bella Coola towards living examples of their crests does not differ from that of mingled respect and superiority with which they regard other birds and animals.

THE RAVEN

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning Raven differ so 773
fundamentally from those respecting other birds and animals, 776*
that the subject must be treated separately. In the beginning 825
of time, when *Älquntäm* sent down the ancestors of the Bella Coola to this earth, he despatched Raven to be their guide and teacher. For this purpose Raven was given greater power than that granted to any other animal. He came to earth in avian form, then changed to a man, but his cloak did not float back to the land above as did those of the other first-comers. Instead, it remained in the world below where he could resume it at will. *Älquntäm* had instructed him to travel to all parts of the world, meaning the coast of British Columbia, in order to study the arts and crafts of the inhabitants and bring back to Bella Coola those which seemed desirable. On these explorations he used to assume raven form and set off in his canoe, *Tobukl*, which travelled without visible motive power at phenomenal speed. Owing to the power that *Älquntäm* had given him, he could talk to the trees and the mountains, the birds, the animals, and the insects, as well as to the human beings he encountered on the coast.

782 party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each mem-
224 ber of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also
726 to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere
[785] with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destin-
ation, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle
down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and
blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the
same time asking *Mɩnakais* to smile on the enterprise and
grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it
is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been
more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

782 Although *Älquntäm*, under the name of *Mɩnakais*, is the
776 one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are
sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time,
when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently
sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes
asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds
of his former power, or be in a better position than men to
intercede with *Mɩnakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining,
782 people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the
776 rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven
825 as *Nowakila*, his title as chief, rather than as *Qwax*. In cold
821 winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head
smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Nowakila*."

782 Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on
[291] many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too
ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

782 The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any
time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole
424 community. In addition, information was obtained about
821 two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

of a single family. Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though aware of the method, can practise it with success unless he is a member of the family to which the method belongs. 782 424 821

One of these prayers, the property of a Kimsquit family, is addressed to *Xemxemālotla*. If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and calls in a loud voice:

Aiye Xemxemālotlaā,[*]	*nuqwikdit*	*liok*	*di sonqʷnudo*
Hail, *Xemxemālotla,*	open	the loftiest	of your heaven
skāxyusamdu	*dji stiexwnigna*		*tcim nānudja.*
so that may look down	the cherished one		your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that *Xemxemālotla* is the being who takes care of *Tlāqmā·ks* in the upper skyland. It is said that this prayer was learnt by the ancestors of an informant in the beginning of time and that a repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds between earth and the upper heaven. For many generations care was taken to teach some intelligent member of the family the correct formula, and the person so entrusted was expected to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather. [776]

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain threatened their success and drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, not having any cedar-bark with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to dispel them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the [824] [775]

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[*] The vocative form.

782 424 821 [785] [177] next day the weather was fine. This particular method of praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the beginning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family. With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grandfather of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears [824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

[824] [825] [261] If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire tithits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai*," "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

[502] [139] [756] Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatcha Nuas,

614 553 178 773 The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 614 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit, not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 424 551 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example, several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have erected totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thenceforth, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in question. The same principle governs all dance names; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

[532] [535]

The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth.

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A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership.

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If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[1] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents; meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him.

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If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the

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[1] In cases of sudden death or failure to make a will confusion sometimes occurs.

567 [727] [789] friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A Bella Coola who had been enslaved and ransomed had to undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

[622] A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the affairs of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued; such an one would not be traded or sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, as far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the family. [424] [491] Many masters gave their slaves *kusiut*[*] dance prerogatives, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Bella Coola has heard of such a case; it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, since anything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. [837] A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves, and unquestionably exercised them. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable freedom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship. [582] When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had become almost a member of the family, his master would try

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[*] *Sisaok* privileges (I, p. 180) were more rarely given.

CHAPTER IV

RANK

Chieftainship—Sisaok Society—The Potlatch

CHIEFTAINSHIP

IN the previous chapter have been described the beliefs of 622
the Bella Coola concerning the origin of names, and the 556*
attitude of pride with which they regard those embodied in 431
ancestral myths, which carry with them prized prerogatives. But the unsystematic method by which ancestral names are inherited is sufficient to show that their possession, though valued for sentimental reasons, is not enough to make the owner a chief. On what, then, is Bella Coola chieftainship based? Expressed briefly, it depends on the number and value of presents distributed at any kind of ceremonial. To the Bella [424] ●
Coola, every rite, whether it be a marriage, the bestowal of a [773]
name, a dance, a type of funeral, or admission into a secret society, is a prerogative intimately associated with the myth by which the performance is authorized. Accordingly, the host is really displaying the glories of his ancestors before the eyes of guests present at the ceremony. To the Bella Coola it is unthinkable for such to be performed without the giving of presents to all; failure to do so would destroy the value of the prerogative. The potlatch is the ceremonial at which the most lavish generosity is displayed, but the principle of the acquisition of prestige by the giving of presents is the same for all other rites; the only difference is that at a potlatch a man is able to display his generosity to a larger number of recipients. In consequence, the aim of every ambitious man is to hold [554]
potlatches, since his status in the community virtually rests on his ability in this respect. The ritual of a potlatch will be given in detail in the latter part of this chapter, but its complications will be intelligible only after a description of the

622 *556 431 broader principles of chieftainship. The first essential is to consider the principles of present-giving.

PRESENTS

*556 431 424 Consider, for example, a man who wishes to take for himself one of his ancestral names, and at the same time to display certain features of his ancestral myth—a particular type of house, totem-pole, or dance used by one of his forefathers. He invites guests to his house, displays the feature of his myth, and must give a present to each to show the value of his prerogative and to demonstrate that he has not merely casually usurped the function in question. In giving a present of, for instance, $20, it is as if he said to the recipient:

"See! These are the glories of my ancestors of whom *I* am the descendant. *I* have a part in their fame. To make this valid I give you from my wealth a mere trifle, a matter of no consequence to me, who am so firmly established in the path of my ancestors."

*556 431 [171] [558] The guest receives the money with mixed feelings. On the one hand he has received $20 as a "present." But if he wishes to elevate his own position and his own prestige, together with that of his ancestors, it is incumbent on him to repay this sum with interest. Contrary to the practice among some other coastal tribes, there is no fixed rate of interest among the Bella Coola. An ambitious man who seeks to become a chief will strive to the utmost to pay back with heavy interest when he himself gives a ceremony so that his fame will be carried far and near. If he should repay only the principal, he would be regarded as having done all that was obligatory, but should he fail to do even so much, he would soon sink to a position of little consequence, no matter how lofty and distinguished his ancestral name might be.

171 *556 558 In this respect there is a parallel between the Bella Coola and ourselves. A man invited to a dinner party is not compelled to return the compliment, but if, in the course of

*556 578 Island chief was felt by the Bella Coola to be quite natural; one of their own chiefs might have resented the insult in the same manner. This account may have no historical basis, but it is a clear example of Bella Coola sentiment.

*556 648 558 [765] Further examples may help to clarify this point. A few years ago a number of Kwakiutl Indians visited Bella Coola to perform a mourning ceremony in honour of a deceased Bella Coola who had a Kwakiutl name from his grandfather, a member of that tribe. All the natives were invited to a large house, where the visitors gave a dance according to their own ancestral myths; the songs which were used recounted the history of the Kwakiutl name of the dead man. After thus displaying their prerogatives, they felt themselves obliged, and proud, as hosts, to give presents as validation. The sum of $546 was distributed among the guests. Realizing that it would be impossible to return such a sum by holding ceremonials in Fort Rupert, the home of the Kwakiutl, the leading Bella Coola decided to return the compliment immediately. The amount to be given was discussed at great length. Appreciating the courtesy of the foreigners in thus coming to pay honour to the deceased, it was not wished to insult them by giving a larger present, which would have had the effect of intimating that the recipients considered the $546 a trifling amount. Accordingly it was finally agreed to give the visitors about $300, which was done as validation of a Bella Coola ceremony at which the strangers were present. Thus the hosts allowed themselves to be shamed as a mark of courtesy. Not to be outdone in politeness, the Kwakiutl chief made a speech, expressing his willingness to allow the Bella Coola to drive him (this occurred in the days of horses and carts) to the wharf to take the steamer. In other words, he allowed the Bella Coola to put him in their debt, as they had allowed him and his party to do with respect to the distribution of money. The visit terminated with friendly relations maintained on both sides.

123 533 *556 •424 The need of validating every ceremonial act by presents can be further illustrated by the following instance. When

the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertain- 123
ment was given one evening at which several men sang 533
and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola 556*
song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was
incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, 424 ●
his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed
an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral
family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by imme-
diately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the
writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance
which aided him considerably in collecting information. This
did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung.
Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby [597]
legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace
of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no
consequence, free to anyone.

SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella 554
Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. 556*
A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving
lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or [622]
"bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase
the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him [424]
the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house.
Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a
man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a
ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names [553]
and the acquisition of seats are among the important features
which occur at potlatches.

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent [773]
down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who estab-
lished a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in
the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position
behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him

554 or sat in two rows, facing one another, on opposite sides of the *556 central fire, parallel to the side walls of the house. When these first ancestors died, the name of each was passed on to some [773] descendant. The Bella Coola feel that he who bears the name of the first settler in a village should have his ancestor's seat. [551] Comparison with the practices of other coastal tribes suggests [171] that formerly the Bella Coola must have had a definite series of seats in their houses, either according to the rank of the occupant, or according to the rank of the ancestor whose name he bore. The most careful investigation, however, failed to show such a system of ranked seating. The only indications that such may once have been customary, are found in the feeling today that the bearer of the first chief's name ought to occupy the central seat behind the fire, and in the expression, "He seats himself where his ancestor sat," when a youth is given his place in the house.

[551] A seat can be claimed and an ancestral name assumed at any age. Goods must be given away which are said to be "covering" for the young man, to have "flowed away," or to have "become nothing" for the name. These validate the official assumption of the designation. With it is given a place in the house. A seat is chosen at the side of the fire, and the goods mark that spot as his in conjunction with the name. ● [424] The seat itself is not material, though the general location on which a person shall sit is indicated. His "seat" is the goods that have been expended. Several men may have positions at practically the same spot, but when all are seated they merely move slightly so that all have room. There is no thought of one person infringing on the location of another. A parent who gives ample wealth at successive potlatches may seek for his son a seat behind the fire. Such is entirely his own affair and if sufficient goods are distributed the son may seat himself in that place, but if the gifts are of little value the occupant is secretly held in derision, as having a seat that is unsound, or unfirm. In later years the man may expend large sums in strengthening his seat; by so doing he wins recognition from

all that he sits in an enviable spot, irrespective of its location 554
in the house. 556*

In precisely the same manner a man may take for himself
a seat in the central part of the row behind the fire, but he is
laughed at for endeavouring to assume a dignity, unworthily,
unless he can validate his position by lavish presents. The
Bella Coola are always ready to make fun of a person who fails
to maintain his seat. On the death of the occupant of the
central position it is taken for granted that whoever inherits [424]
his name will assume that location and give the essential pre- [428]
sents, but it is not incumbent upon him to do so. He may
choose to establish his new name at his old station, beside,
instead of behind, the fire. Thus it has come to pass that the
seat of the most important chief of a village is often at the side
of the house. When all are seated the chiefs may be widely
separated, and a parent may have obtained for his son a seat
in a better part of the house than his own. But as a rule the [622]
chiefs sit in a row at the back of the fire, the most influential
one in the middle. There must have been feuds when two
men desired to seat themselves in the central position at the
same time, but disputes about this were uncommon, because [424]
a man's seat was, and still is, primarily regarded as the intan-
gible goods wherewith he is clothed, rather than his right to
sit at any particular spot. It is these non-material coverings
that enable a man to be bold and assertive in argument or
suggestion, in fact to be a chief. A young man may have
had conferred on him one of the noblest names, but his influ-
ence depends on the value of the goods expended on his behalf,
subject of course to the universal characteristic that a man
of forceful character may have more influence than his actual
position warrants.

Jealous feuds are common when the man who owns the
name of the first chief, first ancestor of a village, has duly [578]
validated it, but is being eclipsed in the giving of potlatches [682]
by a man whose name is of less intrinsic importance. Such a
complication recently arose at Kimsquit, and the Bella Coola

present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther 553
afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in atten- 556*
dance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaok* 575
name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had
a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be
termed the *sisaok* secret society.

The close connection between this society and chiefs is 575
obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same 622
ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person
with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaok*, [553]
unless he has validated a *sisaok* name for himself and undergone
the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly
authorized member of the *sisaok* although lacking a seat and
the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however,
so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaok* society as a
society of chiefs. *Sisaok* dances take place at potlatches and [535]
funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance.
Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use [766]
some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaok* name. Such a
case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in
the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaok* [183]
rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of
his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in
which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial
dictates.

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaok* 424
name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time
with their first ancestors, and that many more have been ac- 551
quired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially 575
common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth 773
seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaok*
name can be assumed casually; each must have had a
specific origin. There are few *sisaok* origin myths, though
theoretically there should be one to account for every name.
The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many [177]
sisaok prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently

177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not diffi-
•424 cult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
551 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
575 prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time
[773] of the coming of the white man. There has since been general
decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 *Susaok* names are willed and inherited in the manner already
described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
551 time of use, will be described in the following section of this
575 chapter.

The Potlatch

*556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch
since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *susaok* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
*556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella
Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

monograph the term "potlatch" will be limited to this, the *łm.* 556* [104]

Every Bella Coola is, or should be, able to recount how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god, *Äłquntäm*, caused his 556* ancestors to be created in his house in the land above, whence 773 they were sent down to populate the earth. A creation legend of this type is a man's most treasured possession.[4] [424] Most myths describe the adventures of these first people, how they prospered in the Bella Coola country until they were able to invite to their homes guests from far and near, to whom they showed what they had achieved, through the assistance of *Äłquntäm*, or of some other supernatural being. In so doing they were carrying out *Äłquntäm*'s wishes. He told some of these first people that if they accumulated much wealth, in those days chiefly food, there was danger that the provisions first stored would rot, hence they should cut away the bottom of the pile and present it to other men and women. The Bella Coola term for "to cut out that which is rotten" is *łlt*, hence the origin, [192] according to their belief, of the word *łm*, which thus has the significance of "a giving away of long accumulated goods which otherwise might rot."

By the splendour of his gifts each of the first people able to give a potlatch (*łm*), spread the knowledge of his name and fame to the towns whence his guests had assembled. Further, those who had received dances from *Äłquntäm* were able to demonstrate them. In course of time those who had first given potlatches died, but on taking their fathers' names, the sons, or other descendants, endeavoured to uphold the parental [574] tradition by inviting guests from afar and giving them valuable presents. At such a ceremony the family history, or family myth, was recounted, so that the donor of a potlatch not only increased his own prestige, he incorporated therewith the traditions of his parent. This is the essence of the potlatch as carried out today.[5]

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[4] Examples of these are given in vol. I, chap. VI.

[5] It has been found convenient to use the present tense throughout, although the potlatch is not now carried out in its entirety. [104]

*556 622 the time the earth was settled, ought to be chief of that village. If he has been able to give the necessary potlatches to weight his possession of that name, the fact that he is the legal descendant of the first chief will add a certain amount to his prestige, but unless he has been able to do this his influence will be slight.

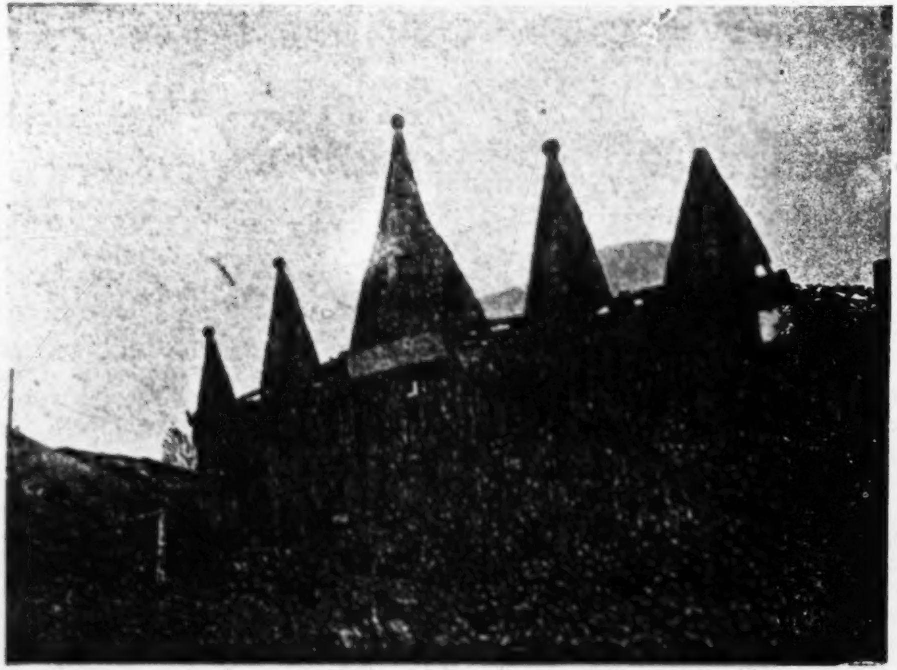
*556 622 766 [775] Thirdly, potlatches smooth the way for the giver after death. Before the corpse of a chief is removed from the house where he has died, a speaker always announces the number of potlatches he has given and the total value of goods distributed at them. These gifts in a vague way are felt to make easy the deceased's path in the next world as they have done in the present. The feature of the potlatch, though firmly believed by some of the older people, plays a less important part in the life of the Bella Coola than might be expected.

*556 What are the requisites for giving a potlatch?

(1) Possession of an ancient myth, containing a name or
[424] names. Probably every Bella Coola has this requirement. A
man's family may not be the proud owners of one of the ancestral myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, but they will at least own some ancient myth which they can elevate by giving a potlatch. As has been said, the owner of one of the most ancient names in many cases chooses to elevate one of lesser antiquity, a course which must, perforce, be done by one who lacks an origin myth. The slight feeling of defer-
[554] ence with which those are regarded who hold the names of the first inhabitants of the earth, the mighty chiefs of old, is subordinate to the very real feeling of respect in which is held the successful giver of potlatches. The descendant of one of the first people has the potential right to chieftainship, but unless he can give potlatches he will fail to gain that eminence.

*556 769 (2) An occasion for giving a potlatch is never lacking. It consists of a number of closely associated rites, any one of which will serve as a reason for the ceremony. The most important feature, the return of a dead ancestor or ancestors to visit the living, is available to anyone at any time. The Bella

PLATE 13



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

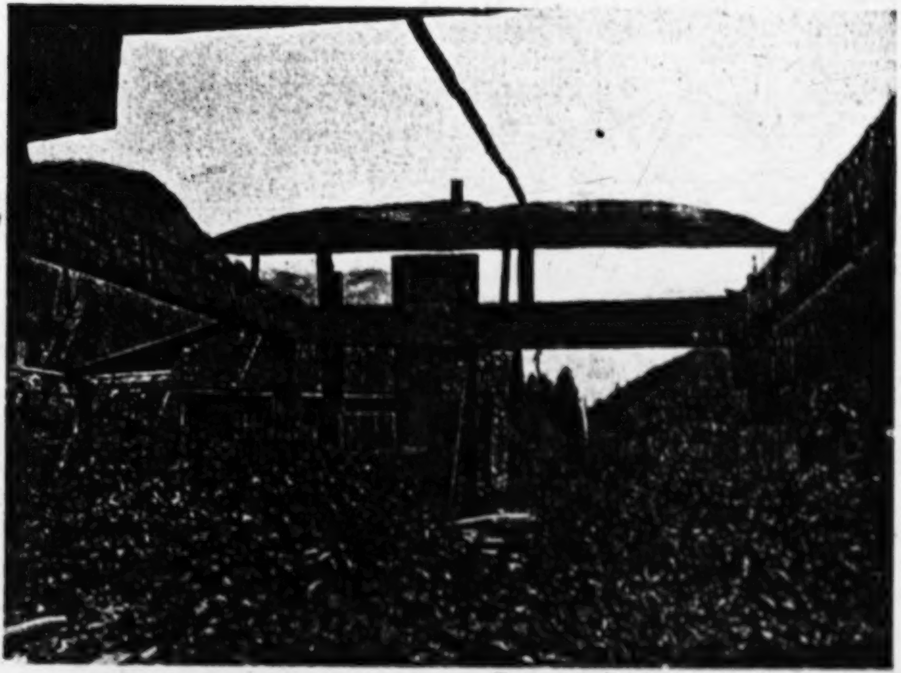
Five-peaked house representing Mount *Nusqalst*

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[7 186 (E)]

341
424

PLATE 14



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Framework of an old house, displaying the owner's prerogative of spool-like indentations in the front posts

*556 Presently the guests assemble, those who are *sisaok* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
[237] in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[292] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The
[554] heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant
exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to
his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In
some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but
as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is
sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial
gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called
*556 upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[883] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with
whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests;
otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
[578] this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first
course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food
in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a
fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more
he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who
gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its
589 reward.

*556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech,
[537] extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that
[425] X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
● [424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with
[532] certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly
bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral
name.

335 *556 of one in his ancestral myth, he will do so; if not, it will suffice to decorate the old house; but in either case the tasks connected with the construction must be allotted. X gives to one man the work of making new beams; to another, the two front upright posts; to a third, the two rear upright posts; to another, the planks along one side of the house; to a skilled carpenter, the totem-pole bearing whatever design X has decided upon; to a painter, one of the designs for the back wall of the house; to another painter, another design near it; to still another, part of the painting of the front of the house; to another, more of the same; and so on until he has allotted work for every part of the edifice. In some cases there are 342 ●424 *556 [773] peculiarities of house construction dependent upon their occurrence in the builder's ancestral myth, which are jealously guarded prerogatives. One man, for instance, enjoys the right to build five peaks above the front of his house. These represent the five peaks of Mount *Nusqalst* where his first ancestor came to earth (see Plate 13). Another has a series of spool- or disk-like indentations in his upright posts (see Plate 14) to support the beams, a prerogative established by his ancestor *Qeil* in the beginning of time. Another chief's posts are carved to represent a mythical creature. Still another prerogative is that of building a sloping board, resembling a gang-plank, from the door of the house to the ground, with a representation of a mythological sea monster at the bottom. In that case the theme of the grandiloquent potlatch song is how chiefs are attracted to X's house, as canoes are irresistibly drawn to the sea monster.

Each of the above-mentioned prerogatives belongs to one family alone; whereas several have the right to build semi-subterranean houses. The artisans excavate a rectangular hole, about six feet deep, equal in size to the central part of the dwelling. A platform is then erected round the sides of this, about three feet from the bottom. The walls of the house itself are raised sufficiently far back from the central pit to allow an unencumbered passageway, off which the bedrooms

are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a 342
few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, 424 ●
and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few 556*
instances are remembered of houses having been built with
two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those [177]
cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of five or six tiers, were not unknown.

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen,[1] avoid- 335
ing only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question 556*
of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will
recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on 465
which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the wedges."

While a man is engaged on his allotted task any food or other articles which he or his family may obtain belongs to X. If a man who hews the planks takes his wife with him and she chances to pick berries while he is at work, these must be given to X who will distribute them with his other food at the potlatch, and it will be announced from whom he has received them. If a man's friends should help him to complete his task and then all go hunting, any skins acquired will belong to X; but when he repays his indebtedness he is expected to reward the worker, not only for his carpentry, but also for the berries or pelts. As X must give lavishly to prove his chieflike generosity, the collection of foods or skins by his workmen is profitable for them.

The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all 556*
day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly
the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a
large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the bearers [575]
are *sisaok*, though they may obtain assistance from those who
are not members of the society. The people within the house
spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back-

[1] [ie. to build a new house for a potlatch. -ANALYST]

with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *kusiut* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No-one is allowed to leave except a *kusiut siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Matlahila*,[10] also called *Sisxiaqsutanam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *kusiut* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance. 593 575 556* [781] [776]

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

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[9] The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *kusiut* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Potlas*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them as dowry certain *kusiut* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cares," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *kusiut* initiates to whom supernatural powers are loaned. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *kusiut* matters, known as a *hai'alikila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to them, as foreseen, the term *siki*, as they do for the *kusiut* "carer," though the Bella Bella name, *hai'alikila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *kusiut*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *kusiut* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *kusiut* was regarded as capable of doing so. 177 424 593 575 556* [425] [583] [553] [771]

[10] Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Smaun* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time. [177]

As the dancers proceed, those women who have the prerogative for doing so, utter a peculiar droning cry. After dancing, the initiates return to the back-room, where they doff their attire. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food. 595 596* 576 [424]

The initiates are now free to leave their place of concealment, as each has become a legal member of the sacred society. Some young men, sons of influential chiefs, are secluded a number of times, others but once. The oftener a youth is secluded, the greater is his prestige, because goods must be distributed on each occasion to validate his name. [554] At the present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the exact details of the ceremony, for it has been so easy of late years to give potlatches that the simpler rite has fallen into disuse; some informants state that each initiate should emerge alone and dance by himself. This concludes the shorter ceremony, but with a potlatch the dancing is reserved until the coming of the foreign guests.

DELIVERING OF INVITATIONS

Returning now to preparations for the true potlatch, it does not matter whether the ceremonies already described are carried out before or after the departure of messengers to invite guests from abroad. 556* [203] Although X usually consults his relatives and friends as to whom he shall invite, this is entirely optional. In giving his instructions X is actuated, first, by a desire to summon those from whom he has previously received hospitality; having accepted presents from them he must discharge the obligations or sink in social estimation. [558] Considerations of friendship also enter into his selection, and he will likewise invite anyone whom he wishes to put to shame by a lavish display of wealth. It is taken as a matter of course that each guest will be accompanied by a number of followers, members of his family, slaves, or adherents.

Acting on X's instructions, a herald invites the people of his village to X's house. X stands up and announces to them [203] [164] want to give valuable presents, but he need not give any. It is a deep disgrace to any man to be unable to return these presents. Nothing is said, nor does the donor take active steps to receive his returns, but the influence of the recipient perceptibly wanes. It is expected that a heavier rate of interest will be paid on presents received many years before repayment, but again this is a matter of individual volition. The debts of a man who dies while owing for goods received at potlatches are scrupulously discharged by his family. If they fail to do so, their own influence is lessened. 426 556* 558

One method of reducing the value of an investment present can be used by a man who feels unable to repay a large gift. The uncle of an elderly Bella Coola was once guest at a Kimsquit potlatch, where he received, as an investment present, a fine large canoe and two hundred blankets. Not wishing to incur so large a liability he at once returned fifty of the blankets to his host for distribution among the guests. Consequently, he was expected to make return for only one hundred and fifty blankets, with whatever interest he desired. This action tended to lower his prestige, since it acknowledged his inability or unwillingness to repay his present. The chief in question, being firmly established in his chiefly status, did not fear to do this, though one of lesser rank would have hesitated to confess his inferiority.

It is on the value of the goods distributed in these three types of presentation, namely, recompense for work done, repayment of debts, and investment presents, that the importance of the potlatch, and consequently of X himself, is virtually judged. These distributions of presents are for the potlatch as a whole, including the return of the dead and the intangible prestige of X; the donations which follow are to validate specific transactions which can be conceived. In one or two families the whole course of the potlatch is changed since the members have the prerogative of distributing their presents outside the house. In such a case the giving is done during the day instead of at night. Details of this ritual, 426 556* [164] [424]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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[424] which is said to have come as a prerogative obtained through marriage with a Kwakiutl woman, were not obtained.

[184] After the distribution of investment presents comes the strengthening of X's seat.

[424] His wife, aided by members of her family, has placed the necessary goods in readiness, though it is pretended they merely happen to be on hand. A herald takes his place near the door, and another behind the fire. Beside the latter stands a chief, attired in a carved head-dress, who represents X. One of the heralds calls on this substitute to come forward, as if he were just entering the house, and shouts: [203]

"There is no place for him to sit!"

Then he turns to X's wife, saying:

"See if you have not a few trifles in your room to strengthen him."

[192] The word for "strengthen" is *[illegible]*, or *[illegible]*, which means, "shoring up," as if X were wobbling on his chief-like base. The words have the other significance of "clothing." They represent the inherent dignity wherewith a chief is garbed.

X's wife goes to her room, or to the place in the house where the goods are stored, and brings forth a large assortment of valuables, which are piled in a convenient spot. The substitute who is representing X then places himself in the latter's seat, which is to be made more solid by these goods. X's wife may tell the herald that they have still more goods for him, and in that case he calls out:

"His seat is too hard. Have you no soft cloths for it?"

The wife brings forward more goods to make her husband's seat more comfortable. The herald, who has been chosen for his fluency, uses his originality in what he calls for from the wife; soft cloths for the seat is merely an example. In some cases, many presents are given; at other times, if the wife and her family be poor, these are few and of little worth. It is not essential that foreign guests witness this establishment or strengthening of a seat, though their presence means that X's [203]

1:McIlwraith E-S (1922-1924)1948
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turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape 556* with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who 575 have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously 789 with their sticks, and the *siki* whirls round and round, working himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are versed understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse.

The employment of a foreign *siki* to expel the power from [424] ● the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not [177] native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks 556* the admission of initiates into the *sisaok* society although they 575 cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a member is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A [422] mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal [592] property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future [428] occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself.

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those [781]

556 with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of
575 cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very impor-
783 tant, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which
789 they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave
the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier
cleansing freed them from the *tutwinam*. During their period
of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kusiut* ceremony of any
kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though
closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable
for a man to enter into contact with the two at the same time,
unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling
● [424] him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which un-
[177] doubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the
people of Rivers Inlet.

556 575 [465] X pays the functioning *siki* with new clothing. This completes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place, but no rites mark their departure.

556 171 Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not
[186] carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly for their remarks. 203 556*

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Ałquntäm* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose games had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Q̌äqät'li* who was a member of *Xemcua*'s (I, p. 326) party at Kimsquit, another was *Olq̌dimut* who came with *uyuyuyut* (I, p. 329). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of to-day; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relatives to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *kusiut* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake. 203 773 551 [428]

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their 203 553 556* 614 424 ●

203 553 *556 614 [424] services. None the less, one of their prized prerogatives, the visible embodiment of an element in their ancestral myth, is no longer present. In such circumstances, no member of an ancestral family would give a potlatch unless able to revive at it the dormant name in a new herald. The intending donor usually consults with the senior members of the ancestral family as to a suitable incumbent, or especially if he is an influential chief, he may simply use his own discretion. In either case, some relatively young member of the ancestral family is offered the post. If he accepts, the matter is settled; if not, another is invited in his stead. The new herald cannot function until his name and appointment have been validated by the distribution of presents at the potlatch. Such gifts are not returnable, since they are held to "have become nothing" for the name. Relatively lavish expenditure for this purpose is one of the many ways in which a chief is able to show his prowess and generosity. Thus established, a herald can carry out his duties thenceforth. He functions at every ceremonial, but especially at potlatches given by members of his own ancestral family, in whose origin myth his own name is embodied. From [627] [796] constant participation in all kinds of ceremonials, a herald becomes conversant with every type, and is appealed to as arbiter in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his reputation.

203 *556 Although acceptance of the post of herald somewhat curtails a man's activities in other respects, instances are known of energetic ones using the gifts received to establish themselves as chiefs, passing on their herald names at the same time to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for the benefit of a son or other relative, being satisfied with his own status in the community. He takes a prominent part in every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared the responsibility of actually giving rites himself, a position which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition and initiative.

pended, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum 556*
of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these [435]
media, debts are passed from one individual to another without [426]
actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella
Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by
their coppers.

PROFESSIONAL PREROGATIVES

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella 424 ●
Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's
name is his only because his ancestral family has the preroga- 556*
tive of using that designation; a *kusiut* dance can be performed
only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific
totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, [532]
seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon
an ancestral prerogative; as is also the area on which a man
can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life.
Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but [776]
on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of
his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the pro-
perty of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution [431]
of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is ex-
pended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most [627]
Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one indi-
vidual on another's rights. [578]

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there 424
are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a
man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, al- 463
though the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative 556*
only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on
the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and
so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited
right which must be confirmed and validated by the distri-
bution of presents. These can be given at any convenient
time when the people have been called together, but, as it is
to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely

424 as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods
463 distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have
"become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents so
*556 bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his prerogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation, whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin
[773] of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Alquntam* as expressed to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth
[551] with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special name; others, lacking these, created them through their own enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents,
424 his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same
463 manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in
553 question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed professional name has been able to perform the functions of the
*556 prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation but merely
[551] an addition to those of ancestral, *kusiut*, *sisauk* and other types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case, the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the opportunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to
[789] forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

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THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

463 In the beginning of time, *Alquntam* is said to have sent
551 down with *Ḳoli*, who landed on the mountain behind *Ḳomḳo ts*,
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a man, *ux·wunaisa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this func- 551
tion. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the valid- 693
ation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [773]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required
by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ux·wunaisa*
has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe 226
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the [841]
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the [562]
bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to
drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical
period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can [502]
be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at [765]
the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are considered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the
[177] coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without
hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
551 natural beings, whether in *sisaok* or *kusiut* dances, many of the
women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[575] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[463] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral
prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents.
[431] Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women
[773] were given by *Alquntām*, or acquired in other ways, the right
to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with
respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege,
which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even
in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be
validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One
of these names is *Nunuqwolulslaiqan-a*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the
east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the
ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this
prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to
drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to
increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incum-
767 bent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
time, *Smaeax* of Kimsquit married *Tlākwaitl*, the daughter of
463 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been
773 transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it 767
seems to follow the general type. 463

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at 222
least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every
kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, 424
like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional [463]
name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly
validated before she can function. One of these is *Stlcwarwak-* [551]
nimān-a, another is *ka'ya*. Though normally reserved for [522]
women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male
child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized.
No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has [532]
paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her [789]
picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an
act which is believed to ripen the berries.

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is re- [608]
peated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was [183]
no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries
before the announcement of the official picker; obedience
seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to
have been unknown though formerly there may have been
some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed 901
down from the distant past and requiring validation before it [424]
can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means [463]
are in many cases employed to make any young man brave
and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed [431]
as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal
on them of professional names. At the present time, it is [551]

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than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of [163] a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

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THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

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Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and compositions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

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THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

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As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an [553] effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make 335 canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the 779 beginning of time, Yalátimot was the canoe-maker *par excellence;* he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe [771] the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yalátimot* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the 335 old days, before the coming of the white man, carpenters were [554] always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, [777] and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white man, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and [392] takes charge of the fitting and adjustments. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

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424 Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. [463] Many Bella Coola have validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. [551] One of the latter is *Lalaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; [555] perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. [556] Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

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[177] There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable prerogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

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424 The method about which the most definite information was obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nusqelsiq* to catch geese at *Tāl-io*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

this practice had been handed down with the name from the 229 beginning of time; another man stated that it was no prerogative [424] ● and could be used by anyone. The best time for hunting was at the equinoxes, and *Nuspalsiq* always observed [715] ceremonial chastity in such a way that it terminated at that date. Before setting out, the hunter prepared a net of the shape shown in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 1). The net was stretched over a wooden framework, about ten feet long and four feet wide; counterbalanced by a long and heavy handle. The whole affair was called, "The House-like Thing." Choosing a still night, the hunter used to set out in his canoe paddled by a number of assistants. *Nuspalsiq* would place himself in the bow with his net, and in the middle of the craft a small fire was kept burning with [372] resinous sticks piled beside it so that it could be kindled into bright flames at a moment's notice. As the canoe was slowly paddled along the shore, the geese were half attracted, half repelled by the light. Unwilling to take to flight, they used to swim around at the edge of the illumination and so were guided into some narrow opening of the shore. Then *Nuspalsiq* would throw his net so that the end farthest from the handle first touched the water and as the latter came crashing down it imprisoned a number of birds. Others, bewildered by the light and the falling net, tried to fly outwards and were knocked down by the paddlers. These were retrieved at once and the necks of those caught in the net were wrung at leisure. It is said that this method of hunting was almost always successful.

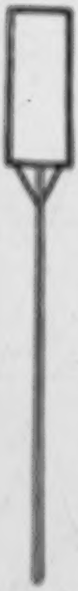

FIG. 1
Goose Net

Another *Täl-is* hunting device which, however, was not 225 transmitted and may have been merely an individual stroke [464] of genius, not an inherited prerogative, was employed to kill seals. The last to use this method was the father's father of an elderly Bella Coola. This man used to go out at night in a

225 small ocean-going canoe, with an assistant who passed his paddle through the water in such a way that a slight phosphorescent streak resulted. This resembled the course of a salmon. In a short time a seal would rise in pursuit of the "fish," and the watchful hunter would harpoon it. The seal would rush off with the head of the weapon, which was attached by a long line to the shaft remaining in the hunter's hand. He would play it like a huge fish, until the exhausted animal was drawn to the side of the canoe and clubbed. Several seals were often obtained by this means in the course of a single night.

224 424 The two usual methods of killing mountain goats are by cornering them with dogs and then choking them to death, or by shooting with rifle or bow. There was formerly a special method of snaring which had been handed down as a prerogative from the time of the first people. The hunter used to set his snares on a precipitous path commonly used by goats and had remarkable success. Others might know how to make snares and where the hunter set them, but no one would ever attempt this method of hunting without the proper prerogative. Another right, enjoyed by another hunter, was the catching of bears in a similar way in nooses.

424 556 182 Little need be said in conclusion about these particular privileges, except to emphasize that they are merely an aspect of the principle of validated prerogatives which permeates every phase of Bella Coola life. It is as natural for a man to be made a singer or a hunter by the distribution of presents as it is for him to acquire a dance by the same means. Each is contained in an ancestral myth, and the validation of the prerogative enables the incumbent either to function actively, or at least to enjoy the social prestige accorded to the craftsman who has been duly confirmed in his vocation. The necessity of bestowing gifts to validate a prerogative introduces an economic element to the concept, but this is lessened by the fact that a poor man can acquire a name by a relatively small

expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a 424 man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a 556 lavish manner. 182 Selection is a constant factor in the social life of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *sisaok* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *kusiut* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals [555 endowed with no more than native ability. 177] Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

ʃ'alk Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances 177 that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the 535 *sisaok* society. 575 In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *s'alk* dances.[7] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes [184 in *sisaok* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the 796] result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the dancer. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *sisaok* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *ʃ'alk* dances are associated with *sisaok*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *sisaok* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that [128]

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[7] Called *s'alpsa* in Kimsquit.

177 of the *a'alk* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
128 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with
sisaok ceremonial really belong to *a'alk* rites.

The right to perform an *a'alk* dance depends upon a duly
●424 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
535 an *a'alk* name. Some of the first people brought down such
designations and dances with them from above in the beginning
575 of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from super-
[773] natural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a
loose organization which may be termed the *a'alk* society.
This is closely associated both with the *sisaok* society and with
chiefs, owing to the occurrence of these three types of names
in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
[556] family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name,
another to make himself a *sisaok*, a third to become an *a'alk*,
and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may
be able to do all three.

A'alk dances are less spectacular than those of either the *sisaok* or *kusiut* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used. The prerogatives of a member are limited to his name, the right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four types of dances are considered to be *a'alk*; the methods of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual account of the performance of each.

556 If there is a dormant *a'alk* prerogative in the ancestral
family of the donor of a potlatch, he usually chooses to validate
575 this as one of the features of his ceremony. He first consults
his wife and other relatives to ensure that sufficient goods will
be forthcoming, and if this matter can be arranged satisfactorily, he chooses some young relative as the recipient of the dormant right. It would be most unusual for the youth selected to decline the honour. Or some man, other than the

Long ago, there lived in Kimsquit a young chief who was a great hunter. On one occasion, he was camping in a cave, *Anukukwilis*, on the mountains when not only its roof, but the dome of the sky as well, opened so that he was able to gaze into the upper regions of space. From this manifestation of the supernatural, he took for himself the name *Ālkwi*, "The Opening of the Upper Regions," and validated it by giving valuable presents. This name has been transmitted from generation to generation and was recently brought to the present owner by his wife. With it is the prerogative of distributing potlatch gifts outside the house since the first *Ālkwi* claimed that the sky itself was his only ceiling. 539 575 [551] [424]

A few years after *Ālkwi* had had this experience, he and his three brothers left Kimsquit by canoe to hunt mountain goats at *Surwak*. To their surprise, a gull perched on the bow of their canoe; they did not scare it away, thinking it indicated a manifestation of the supernatural. At intervals it left its perch and circled around the canoe, but soon returned. As they neared the landing-place, the gull flew ashore and changed into a yearling mountain goat. *Ālkwi* told his brothers, of whom the second was named *Ālhexa* and the third *O'miāāl*, that he believed this to be a further visitation of the supernatural to himself and that he would investigate it, and later meet them at *Anukukwilis*.

Ālkwi leapt ashore and followed the yearling goat. Wherever the road was rough, his strange guide travelled slowly so that his human companion could follow him. At length they came to a deep chasm with sheer walls about six feet apart, and a ledge running along one side. *Ālkwi* followed the goat along this, until the animal leapt across the gorge, struck the face of the precipitous rock, and vanished. It was clear that he had passed into the interior of the mountain and the chief could hear the distant sound of a drum.

"I can die but once," he said to himself.

Then the brave hunter leapt across the chasm, struck the rock, and passed through it as if it had been tissue paper, to find himself in a vast cavern amid a large number of people. These were really animals who had gathered to await the coming of his guide, the yearling-goat. The latter told him not to be afraid, that henceforth he would be under the protection of all animals and would not come to harm, no matter how often he hunted. With breathless interest, *Ālkwi* watched the performance of a *nusqmal* dance, for every yearling goat is a supernatural dancer of this type. The ceremony lasted throughout the night, and next morning he set out for *Anukukwilis*, not realising that it was really a year since he had left his brothers. [825]

Meanwhile, though the three brothers had almost despaired of their elder's safe return, they patiently remained at their post, and after a year were overjoyed to see smoke rising from *Anukukwilis*. They hurried

CHAPTER VI

ORIGIN MYTHS

Introductory—Bella Coola Origin Myths—Origin Myths of Other Tribes—Early Traditions Having the Ceremonial Significance of Origin Myths—Sisauk Origin Myths

INTRODUCTORY

773 EXAMPLES will be given here of the origin myths, which
128 are believed to authorize so much of the ritual already described, and to which repeated reference has been made.
[1/4] In 1898 Professor Boas published such an admirable collection of traditions of this type (pp. 30 ff.) that the present writer paid little attention to the subject. The Bella Coola, however,
[1/24] are so intensely proud of the deeds of their first forefathers that several insisted on recounting them before they were willing to do other work; in consequence, a fair number of myths was collected through necessity. Since tales of this type were recounted almost entirely at potlatches, their significance has declined since the prohibition of this rite. Consequently, many legends are only remembered in part; the abbreviated and often pointless series of anecdotes here recorded can be no more than a small part of the rich field which must once have existed among the Bella Coola.[1]

● 424 As Professor Boas has clearly shown, origin myths relate
773 how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god sent down to earth the first ancestors of the Bella Coola people, each usually

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[1] In writing up this field material, it was my original intention to place all legends together in a separate section, or appendix, following a common anthropological practice. This, however, would have been contrary to Bella Coola thought since origin myths, for example, are regarded as entirely different from either mere stories, or from incidents connected with shamans,—to name two other groups of what are usually described as "legends." I recognize that the insertion of this chapter of origin myths interrupts the sequence of presenting Bella Coola culture, but I believe that it is the way which the Bella Coola themselves would regard as logical, and that it brings out the essential interrelations of this type of myth upon their whole life.

provided with means of sustenance, a house, and certain supernatural powers. The right to the names of these people, as well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants. But these early Bella Coola, like their modern descendants, had several designations, each carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth there may be embodied a dozen or more names and incidents which are quoted at the present day to authorize such different phases of culture as dances, rights to hunting-grounds, professions, names of dogs, or *kusiut* prerogatives.* Any myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative, is termed a *smayusta*. Each of these is, or was in the old days, remembered with great care and never recounted in full detail except to the members of the ancestral family whose names are embodied in it. Even at potlatches the full details of the myth are not laid bare. Indeed, if a young man is of a flighty, garrulous disposition, unlikely to preserve the dignity of his ancestral lines, the details are concealed from him. Even at the present time there is much resentment at any unauthorized use of a *smayusta*, and in the old days this would inevitably have led to bloodshed. 426 773 [577] [227]

Boas (p. 116) states that the terms *smayusta* and *sutsma* are synonymous. The writer feels certain that this is an error. It was discussed separately with various Bella Coola, all of whom agreed that a *sutsma* is a mere story which can be told by anyone, whereas a *smayusta* is a myth possessed by the individual, or individuals, whose prerogatives are derived from it. To the Bella Coola the two are utterly different. [174 538]

None the less, there is no doubt that records of the past change from one category to the other. A wealthy chief, eager to give a potlatch, but lacking the mythical authorization, must frequently have used a *sutsma*, claiming the hero as an ancestor. There would be veiled amusement at him for doing so, but the prestige of one who can give potlatches is so great that in time his claim would probably be accepted. The two 171 773 [173]

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*The details of these will be described later.

178 773 versions of the myth given (vol. I, pp. 313-19) is a case in point. The first was told as a *smayusta* by a woman who claimed to be a descendant of the people figuring in it; the second, as a story, *[illegible]*, by a man. In view of the reliability of both informants, it seems highly probable that this is a story, partly converted to a myth. In other examples there are incidents resembling the supernatural tales given in vol. I, chap. 19, and here too it appears probable that *[illegible]* have been assimilated into *smayusta*. It is complimentary to the truthfulness [57 424] of the Bella Coola, and to the respect they show for intangible property, that none of the myths recorded were *smayusta* owned by others. Repeatedly an informant would say that he knew one, but would not tell it since it belonged to some other family.

124 773 After collecting a few myths, in each of which it was stated that the first settlers at village X were A, B, and C, with their sisters, P and Q, it seemed as if it would have been possible, before the culture of the Bella Coola had fallen into its present decay, to make a census of those whom they believe to have been first settlers of the earth, and that such a list would have had few contradictions. This was soon found to be false. Two myths may give different people as the first occupants of a certain village, nor does such contradiction trouble the Bella Coola. Each man, convinced of the authenticity of his own family account, is quite willing to believe that the one belonging [311] to someone else is equally correct. This characteristic lack of logical consistency has already been mentioned in other connections. Boas (p. 61) likewise gives an instance of uncertainty as to the first occupants of a village, though, on the whole, he found Bella Coola mythology to be more codified than the present writer has done. In view of their lack of systematization in other matters, it would have been surprising if they had evolved a census of their first ancestors, accepted by all as accurate.

Another matter to be considered at this point is the similarity [178] of detail in many myths. In part this can be explained

834 over a series of parallel ridges, from the top of one of which he saw before him a number of men, also going upstream. Around their heads they wore light-coloured bands. They disappeared over the next rise and when *W'aqapsi* reached the summit of this he saw in the hollow below him, not a number of men, but a pack of wolves, preceding him on the trail. The wolves passed over the next ridge out of sight, but when *W'aqapsi* gained the crest he saw in front of him, not wolves, but the men again with bands around their heads. This continued for some time, *W'aqapsi* seeing men before him from one ridge and wolves from the next; he was slowly gaining on them, and finally saw the animals assume human form, take off their tails, and wrap them around their heads. He caught up with the wolf-men and told them the reason for his travels, that he sought a wife. They agreed to help him and all travelled together to the home of *[illegible]*, who had landed with his wife from above on Mount *[illegible]* in the Carrier country. They had brought from above a beaver as food, and some moose-skins. *[illegible]* had a daughter, *[illegible]*, whose other names were *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*. *W'aqapsi* asked *[illegible]* for the girl and the latter agreed. So the two were married and the wolf-men sang a song which has since been handed down as a prerogative in the family of their descendants.
[illegible]

After the marriage the pair returned towards *[illegible]*, *[illegible]* going ahead to break a trail through the forest. From this she took the name *[illegible]*, "Trail-Breaker"; had she not cleared this path there would have been no intercommunication today between the Carriers and the Bella Coola. In the house which *W'aqapsi* built for his bride, everything was decorated with a raven; the door was the beak of the raven; the smoke-hole was a raven; and a raven was carved on the end of every beam. *[illegible]* constructed a house a little above *[illegible]*; it was like the present Bella Coola ones but made entirely of skins. He called it *[illegible]*.

The two families sojourned in this vicinity for some time when *W'aqapsi* decided to travel around the world. He set off and, far to the east, crossed the upper waters of the Bella Coola River, which he decided to open as a route to the sea. He had brought with him some abalone-shells, which he used to decorate a knife. This gave it the name *[illegible]*. It floated downstream to *[illegible]*, where the river plunged beneath a huge rock, but *[illegible]* made this to flow by destroying the barrier. Meanwhile, *[illegible]*, another of the first people, who had come to earth as a mountain *[illegible]*, had made ready his canoe for a journey upstream. *[illegible]* was very proud, and considered himself the oldest of all mankind under the assumption that he was the first to reach this earth. Accordingly his grief was great when he saw *[illegible]* floating

*531
532
before he came to this world. It was a large pole and stood across the sidewalk from the house, not being pierced by the doorway. At the base was a grizzly bear, with paws wrapped around it as if desirous of climbing after the food which could be seen higher up. Immediately above the bear was an eagle's nest with four fledglings standing amid their broken eggshells and craning their necks eagerly upwards to greet the mother eagle flying back with a salmon. At the top of the pole was a ball, [illegible], representing the container in which the sun was enclosed; it was this that Raven broke to release light to mortals. The name of the pole was [illegible].[50]

[531] The names contained in this myth are still in use. [illegible] was the owner of it, but a small song deals with [illegible] a reed, since the salmon enter Bella Coola River in hopes of reaching this place, salmon are used in the decorations of her house. The name [illegible] varies; it becomes [illegible] when applied to a youth, and [illegible] as a for a girl.

FOURTH ORIGIN MYTH OF Snut[51]

*591
[829]
Long, long ago there was in a mysterious place far to the east and far above this world, a very large house, [illegible], in which dwelt together all people, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Carriers, and the rest. In it there lived too, all kinds of birds, including the thrush who taught each its song. The chief of the house, [illegible] by name, lived there too and gave to each tribe its special language. One day he decided to visit the earth, and dived from his house downwards, becoming the sun. In this guise he came to earth on Mount [illegible], near Snut, where he became a man and built for himself a house which was a copy of [illegible], and to which he gave the same name. [illegible] became prosperous and gave many potlatches.

FRAGMENT OF A [illegible] ORIGIN MYTH[52]

In the beginning of time, [illegible], in guise of the sun, sent down to earth a number of brothers with their one sister. Their names have been forgotten except that of the eldest one, [illegible], who had brought with him a beaver as protector. He released the animal, which could

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[124]
[551]
[50] As is commonly the case, there is no connection between this totem-pole and the adventures of [illegible]. The person using this name has the right to use these designs as a part of his myth, exactly as the right to recount the adventures of his ancestor belongs to him.

[51] Approximate translation, salmon ascending.

[52] Related by Joshua Moody.

plied to provide abundant food for all; it became the ancestor of all the beavers of the upper valley. Owing to their position higher up the Bella Coola, *Tsiakmais* and his brothers considered that they were nearer to the sun than any of the people dwelling below, a fact of which they were exceedingly proud. Moreover, having been sent down by him, the sun was their own.

There were two large boulders in the river near the settlement, which *[illegible]* had shown *Tsiakmais* how to use as supports for a salmon-weir. With the help of his brothers, a hole was drilled in one of the rocks; then they felled a large tree upstream and allowed it to drift down until the butt lodged in the perforated boulder and the head swung across against the other. With this as base, other trestles were set in upright so that the river was almost spanned and a fine dam constructed. In this they caught so many salmon that *Tsiakmais* and his brothers were able to call people from far and near to potlatches and feast them liberally on the fish. In course of time their sister was married to a chief from another town. Thenceforth, whenever one of her brothers gave a potlatch, he was able to rebuy his sister on a lavish scale with the running salmon. The sun had taught the woman a song for such occasions, which has since been used as a prerogative by her descendants when rebuying themselves from their husbands.

Tsiakmais made a long voyage of exploration during which he reached the Skeena River. He made friends with the inhabitants of the town, *[illegible]*, who gave him the name, *[illegible]*, meaning [illegible] in their language. Continuing his journey, he ultimately circled the earth before returning home. He obtained several other designations, including *[illegible]* from the Kwatna people.

Years after the settlement of *[illegible]*, the drilled stone supporting the salmon-weir broke and the ruins were swept away downstream. The people cut their hair and blackened their faces in mourning, then moved to [illegible] where a number of their daughters had married chiefs.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *[illegible]*

It is common to add details from a story to a family myth in order to increase its length and importance. Almost cer-

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It appears that *[illegible]* is an attempt to pronounce the English, which thus is an interesting example of the way in which modern words have been incorporated into ancient myths and been clothed with the glamour of antiquity.

Both are still used by members of the ancestral family descended from *Tsiakmais*.

Obtained by Mrs. [illegible], who had learnt it from her late father, [illegible], a chief of [illegible], whose earlier name was [illegible].

their craft and set out on foot along the overland path to the head of South Bentinck Arm. 539*

Midway along this trail the travellers saw a house, called [illegible] because it could lengthen itself at will. From this supernatural sight each of the five became a shaman. This house was a replica of the one above in which mankind was made and, like it, contained many rooms, in each of which lived an individual speaking a different language. [illegible] failed to understand them and in his annoyance scattered the speakers, who fled to different parts of the coast where each increased and perpetuated his own language. [196] This is why the various coastal tribes have their own tongues; if [illegible] had been able to understand them in [illegible] there would be no diversity of speech now.

Various dances were taking place in the rooms within the house. There was a constant din from the large whistles used in sound ceremonial which sounded of their own accord and were continually answered by Echo. [776] Only at this place and at [illegible] did Echo appear to the first people, hence only the descendants of [illegible] and of the [illegible] people have [535] the right to portray him in their dances. [illegible] (II, p. [illegible]) stood near the door; when at last she called out, the sound whistles became silent as if in fear.

Continuing their journey the travellers reached [illegible], at the head of South Bentinck Arm, where a solitary man, [illegible], was living. At this place [illegible] gave birth to Raven, who was born as a boy with the legs of a raven. [illegible] named him [illegible]. After a short sojourn at [illegible] they ascended the river, and presently [illegible] saw a female grizzly bear, whom he also invited to join the party as his sister. The bear accepted and he endeavoured to change the creature to a woman. He had fair success with the paws and face; that is why these parts of a bear are similar to those of man at the present day, but the beast's hairy hide defied his efforts and in disgust he told it to run away. Before banishing it, he bade the animal always show a friendly disposition to human beings, wherefore grizzly bears at [illegible] [776] have never been known to attack a person. The party proceeded up the river to Mount [illegible], where [illegible] found a [illegible] (II, p. [illegible]) through the discovery of which he became a Cannibal with the name [illegible] and an eagle as [illegible]. From this point they returned to [illegible], where they settled permanently.

Many of the names which occur in this myth are still in use. Mrs. 539 Schooner's designation as chief is [illegible], a name that can be used by either men or women; in the former case the suffix [illegible] is

1.McIlwraith E-3 (1922-1924) 1948

NEG Bellacoola NEG

551 dropped. [illegible] is held by a Fort Rupert chief. Several kusiut names, with dances, were obtained from [illegible] where the ceremonies are there being performed; among them were [illegible] and [illegible], which are now used by two Bella Coola women. [illegible] is now a Cannibal (II, p. 71) name. As Tāl'io [illegible] gave a kusiut dance, and with his own power made there a repository as if he had brought it with him from [illegible]. This was only possible because of his supernatural power as one of the first people, strengthened by his becoming a dancer through seeing [illegible].

ANOTHER ORIGIN MYTH OF *TĀL'IO*[1]

559 In the beginning, there came down to the Heaven River,[2] *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, and their younger sister *[illegible]*; they brought from *[illegible]* some of the large cone-shaped whistles used for kusiut ceremonials.[3] The three travelled all over the coast seeking a place in which to settle, and always the whistles kept calling out of their own accord, giving advice. Finally they decided to locate at *Tāl'io*, the head of South Bentinck Arm.

When they had lived there for some time, the neighbours objected to the din of the whistles, which drove away [illegible] and herring, so *[illegible]* built a high, narrow mound of [illegible], on the top of which he constructed his house. The building was peculiar; its door opened [illegible] and used to close with a crash when anyone entered. On either side of the hill there lived a [illegible], whose [illegible] one could hear the [illegible] of an infant at any distance. In those ancient days, these beasts were like dogs and did not annoy mortals; they were servants to *[illegible]*. One day he knew that a raiding-party was approaching, but instead of being afraid he instructed the [illegible] to use their power when it drew near. When the hostile canoes came in sight the two creatures reversed their eyelids, causing a blinding flash which stunned the occupants of the canoes. After a little they recovered consciousness and again came on, but again the [illegible] reversed their eyelids with a like result. When this had happened several times the visitors withdrew discouraged.

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[1] Obtained by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[2] It is not uncommon for the Heaven to figure as the place whence some of the first people came to earth, but the [illegible] [illegible] in Bella Coola than [illegible].

[3] This [illegible] is less common among the Bella Coola than the Bella Bella.

[112
171]

presents were distributed to validate the name, [illegible], which [illegible] had chosen for himself. 539

[illegible] married a Bella Bella woman who brought with it the prerogative of a dance with respect to the devil-fish. In Bella Bella this rite was connected both with the burial and the [illegible], but in Kitamaat it was performed only as a burial dance. It was first given [illegible] by [illegible], a relative of [illegible], and has since been performed like [illegible] in Kitamaat. Their daughter married the Bella Bella [illegible], which has since remained in Kitamaat. [424 575 585 551]

[illegible] MYTH OF [illegible][illegible]

In the beginning of time there came to [illegible], on the east side of the [illegible] River, about one mile from the sea, [illegible] and his three younger brothers. They brought a stone hammer in their canoe from [illegible]. After they had lived some time on this earth, [illegible] asked [illegible] to have a canoe ready for him on the morrow. By the next day [illegible] had completed a fine craft. [illegible] was delighted and spent four days fitting it out; then set out with his three younger brothers for a trip to the far north, where he knew by report that abalone shells were to be found.[illegible] The four did not know the route [illegible] constantly [illegible] persevered and were helped by all whom they encountered, [illegible]'s name being well known. After a month's voyage, they reached their goal. They found themselves before a lofty precipice [illegible] into the ocean with a cavern visible in it at very low tide. In they boldly entered. At first they were [illegible] with falling [illegible]; their canoe would have been sunk by the weight of these if the youngest brother had not held up his cedar-bark cloak to ward them off. A little further on they found countless abalone shells, with which they quickly filled the canoe, fearing lest the tide should rise sufficiently to cut off their return if they stayed to investigate further. Once safely outside they camped, and the eldest brother took the opportunity to give names to the younger brothers for things they had seen or done on the way. He called his second brother [illegible], "The Warrior," as if he had fought against the abalones, the third [illegible], "[illegible]," and the youngest [illegible], "The [illegible]," a reference to the

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[illegible] has recorded a similar tale from Bella Coola with different characters.

[illegible] The Bella Coola are emphatic in stating that abalone-shell [illegible] the north [illegible]; possibly this may be explained by an ancient trade [illegible]. [487]

539*

Next morning they found a house in readiness for them, a short distance from the beach; its name was *[illegible]*, and it had been created for them by *Alquntam* who had selected this spot for their residence. It resembled other houses except that the door was in a back corner instead of in the middle of the front because bears must not approach the river, and the fire still had ursine characteristics. The salmon would have been frightened if they had lived too near. The paintings on the back walls were of Kingfisher.

Chips from their firewood floated downstream to the point where *[illegible]* (I, p. 332) lived. Judging that someone was encamped above him, he set out to investigate. He met *Totiko* and entered into conversation with him, finally asking if he, *[illegible]*, might marry *Totiko's* sister, *[illegible]*, "The Light-Bearer." *Totiko* agreed, and the two were married in due course. At this ceremony a marriage song given by *Alquntam* was first used.[29]

[illegible] and his brothers made a special kind of fish-trap, in which they caught large quantities of trout and steel-head salmon, and below them *[illegible]* and his family were also catching large quantities of salmon. The two settlements combined to give a potlatch. The brothers built an extension to the house to accommodate their guests, and when all were seated a representation of a black bear emerged from the room at the back of the house, imitating the appearance and actions of its ancestors when first they arrived on this earth. The artifacts brought by [illegible] and his brothers from above were displayed to the guests, as has since been done on similar occasions by their descendants. At this potlatch the name *[illegible]* was given to *[illegible]*, having reference to the unusual house with the rear doorway.

Totiko soon sent his kingfisher herald up the river to discover whether or not there were people there, for at that time it was unknown country. He reported that there were, so *Totiko* built a canoe, in the manner taught by Raven, and set off; en route he met the upstream settlers, who had likewise learnt the art of making canoes and were travelling downstream on an errand similar to his own.

The brothers used some of their wealth on one occasion to give a *kusiut* dance, at which they validated for *[illegible]* the Thunder (II, p. 123) name, *[illegible]*. This refers to the way in which he had flown with quivering wings when a kingfisher, and so he danced he shook his hands in imitation of this. This name had been given him by *Alquntam*, as had also his third, *[illegible]*, referring to his status as herald.

[illegible] and *[illegible]* had many children who formed a band between

[520]
[424]
[534]

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[29] It has since been transmitted as a prerogative by the descendants of this couple.

make a salmon-weir. In accordance with Alquntam's instruction, [illegible] planned to make a circuit of the world seeking a suitable place to settle. He started northward, in eagle form, scattering eagle down, wherefore this material has ever since been highly regarded and is used as a symbol of peace. Owing, moreover, to the eagle down scattered on the mountains, there has always been much snow in that region.[40] 534 [illegible]

Sometimes as he travelled he assumed the form of the sun, for he was so powerful that nothing was impossible to him. Far in the north [illegible] obtained an enormous copper, which he carried back to Kimsquit without completing his original plan of circling the earth. He perched on a tree near his brother's almost completed salmon-weir.

"Why don't you change yourself to a human being?" [illegible] inquired.

"I am waiting until our food is more plentiful," [illegible] replied. "Besides I have been to the far north where I obtained an enormous copper."

When the weir was completed and [illegible] was catching many salmon, his brother at last decided to become a man. But instead of sending his cloak back above he animated it, as an eagle. [illegible] now became an ardent fisherman and was much annoyed by the thefts made by the bird, though he himself was responsible for it not having returned to [illegible]. After about a year he suggested to [illegible] that they should kill it, but the latter demurred, since it was the guise which Alquntam had given [illegible]. The latter said nothing, but the next time he saw the eagle stealing his fish he killed the bird, without consulting his brother. No sooner had he done this than he felt sorry, but it was too late; he could not restore the eagle to life.

Owing to the salmon given them by Alquntam the two brothers were soon very prosperous, and [illegible] began to think of marriage. One day he noticed some chips floating down the Dean River, so he judged that people must be living on that stream. He set out to investigate, met [illegible], and married his sister [illegible], as has been described in a Dean River myth. To celebrate this event the two brothers prepared to invite people from far and near. First they lengthened their house to accommodate a large number; it was of the type known as collapsible, though it could not expand without human agency. Then they painted their spoons with designs of the salmon, since they had brought that creature with them from above. Now everything was ready and they summoned their guests. When all had assembled, [illegible] gave a [illegible] dance [illegible]

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[40] The clouds which float over Kimsquit before a rain wind are still called "[illegible]'s clouds," in memory of his journey. The myth fails to explain how [illegible] was responsible for these phenomena.

573 424 536

to commemorate the killing of the eagle. The text of his song described how he had come to this earth and how he had slain the bird which had been his own cloak. This dance was duly validated by presents of salmon, and has since been carried out by the descendants of *Smaumt*. It is assumed that the concept of such a dance was given to him by *Alquntam* before he left *Nusmata*, but he used his own discretion on this earth as to the actual manner for it.

At this gathering of people, virtually a potlatch, *Smaumt* took for himself the name *Anuqtplaiam*, "What Fills People." He chose this name with reference to the countless salmon caught in his weir.

Smaumt next travelled to Bella Bella seeking a wife. His fame and wealth were so well known that he was able to wed *Tlitlimutl*, the daughter of a powerful chief. She had the valued prerogative of wailing, a right which had been duly validated by presents. Her father told her that when she was going with *Smaumt* to Kimsquit she would pass *Tqxsitmql*, a man who had been turned to stone on the skyline above the western side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and that unless she wailed as she passed him her children would be unable to enjoy this prerogative. The reason for this injunction is not now understood; it is merely recognized that as *Tqxsitmql* became petrified near *Smaumt*'s home he became, in some manner, a crest. As the canoe bearing *Tlitlimutl* passed *Tqxsitmql* she began to wail and weep, nor could her husband soothe her. He, for his part, told the herald, *Nusllaq*, who had come with him from above, to call out as follows:

"Hahla! Come, our chief has married a Bella Bella woman; so you see his crest, so see you here."

484 767

When *Nusllaq* had called this a second time the stone man answered. Ever since, passers-by have addressed *Tqxsitmql*, and a failure on his part to reply is considered an omen of death.

Tlitlimutl brought her husband several valuable prerogatives, a cannibal dance with the large cone-shaped whistles, several *Kusiut* dance rights, as well as some dried salmon-back. According to one of *Smaumt*'s descendants, this is how the cannibal ritual reached Kimsquit. Among the Bella Bella, whales can only be eaten by chiefs, and *Smaumt* received this right from his father-in-law. The latter also gave his son-in-law a dead whale, which was towed behind the canoe towards Kimsquit. *Smaumt* knew that his people would object to it being brought into the river, since there was a firm belief that a whale would drive away the salmon. Accordingly, he beached the carcase in the fiord and there dried the meat in smoke.

Smaumt now determined to give an elaborate potlatch at which he planned to publicize his prerogative with regard to the whale. He decided to build his new house of the semi-subterranean type; when it was finished

At this juncture someone saw a party of strangers, and wondered who they might be as they entered the town. There was great rejoicing when the two brothers told their parents who they were, for they had been so transformed that they were unrecognizable. As Sx'imx had said, Sxltsmai's three beautiful sisters came rushing up, eager to have him take them back, but he paid no attention to them. He welcomed only the ugly one, who had mourned for him, and massaged her until she became the most lovely of all. 539*

Ommaus, delighted at the safe return of his sons, and proud of Sxltsmai's beautiful children, sent invitations far and near to a great potlatch. At this ceremony he validated, with many presents, a seat in the house for Sxltsmai. The name thus conferred was Sqamalsh, "The First Born," a name given to Sxltsmai by Ksqaqtlalsa. Ommaus also took this opportunity to confer names on his numerous grandchildren. After sojourning for some time in Kimsquit, the Kitlolo people returned home, richly laden with gifts.

In the course of time W'cuutslxd bore her husband two more children. Ommaus continued to prosper and to give potlatches, at one of which he gave one of his grandchildren the name Qaklmq, "Chief." This designation at once became honourable on account of the goods expended. Sxltsmai did not wish to forget his Kitlolo friends, so in time he sent two of his children to live there. One of them was Qaklmq, a name that has ever since remained there. Thus friendly relations between Kimsquit and Kitlolo, first opened by Sxltsmai, have been maintained. There have been many marriages between people of these two towns, each known of Sxltsmai, and it was only about one hundred and fifty years ago that a Kimsquit woman, Aqlust'as by name, was married to a Kitlolo man to repay the original marriage of W'cuutslxd. [248] [512]

When Ommaus became old he gave yet another potlatch at which he took for himself the name Sxltsmaimuq, "The Sunrise." He created this from his own fertile imagination, with reference to the way in which he scattered eagle down when first travelling to the earth in eagle form. It has since been used by his descendants when old. [589]

The descendants of Ommaus enjoy not only the prerogative of using this myth and the names included in it, but other privileges connected with it. If one of them gives a potlatch he carves the form of a sxltsmai on the spoons to be used at it, and paints the wall of his house with a whale design. Ommaus's descendants are more likely than others to receive supernatural good fortune from a salmon. The descendants of both 539* 426 [538]

538 424

brothers have the right, moreover, to hunt and collect food in the places used by these five ancestors. The areas so authorized are:

[illegible]: the mountain where they first came to earth.

[illegible]: a valley leading into the main valley of the Kimsquit River where [illegible] was accustomed to hunt.

[illegible]: a valley where Ommeel's wives used to pick berries.

[illegible]: a level tract of country on the bank of the Kimsquit River twenty-eight miles from its mouth. No people lived here until Ommeel [illegible] it as a hunting-ground.

[illegible]: another valley where Ommeel's wives used to pick berries.

The place in the Kimsquit River where their salmon-weir was erected, and the spot where they caught eulachon.

538 [illegible]

The length and wealth of detail embodied in this myth raises the question of whether it is one of the usual type, or represents a combination of several stories strung together and related by a man eager to glorify the traditions of his own ancestors. It was received from Jim Pollard, a Kimsquit Indian, descended from Ommeel, and himself the user of this name, a valuable and reliable informant. Jim is a man of great ability, who has given more potlatches than any other Indian of either Bella Coola or Kimsquit, and who, accordingly, has been able to validate very fully his ancestral myths and the names embodied therein. Owing to the deaths of his relatives, Jim has been able to use designations and portions of the legend which otherwise would certainly have belonged to other people. In this respect it, therefore, represents an amalgamation, but one of a legitimate nature. Theoretically every myth would be complete if it were not for the parts possessed by others, and the aim of every true Bella Coola is to unite the strands of these pieces by judicious marriage. Jim has been able to achieve this by the death of his relatives and the assistance of his wife, herself a descendant of Ommeel. Before the coming of the white man and the consequent dwindling of population, it is unlikely that any one person would have the duly validated right to tell a myth of this length, but theoretically it was possible, and might have been done by anyone as superior to his fellows as this man is to the present inhabitants of Kimsquit.

[424 [illegible]]

SECOND MYTH OF *[illegible]*[*]

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Among the first people dispatched to this earth were four brothers, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*, who came as eagles and settled at *[illegible]*, the site of the present Mission Cannery, Kimsquit. Before

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[*] Related by Jim Pollard.

539 aided by alder sticks which beat time of their own accord. From this night *Ematlmuka* became a shaman and used what he had seen when he was giving a dance of his own. His brother *Watlhu* went downstream until he came to a large house at *Kāltalst*[*] outside of which stood a huge bull-head. No one was in this house and *Watlhu* took possession of it.

A FRAGMENTARY ORIGIN MYTH[*]

Long ago at the time the world was first populated there were no rivers apparent, for such were confined underground in a cavern-like prison called *Nusmāāllimanis*, the approach to which was barred by a huge boulder. Not only were the rivers shut up, but with them were their occupants, including the salmon. First Eagle tried to break this barrier, but without avail; then Raven succeeded. Since then the Bella Coola River has flowed in its present course. But the *Tcamat* River was still in bondage, to the disgust of the olachen who wished to travel up it to the home of the chief, *Qaamanal'ls*. The Carpenter, *alalhalt*, took pity on them and by breaking the barrier permitted them to reach their destination.

Origin Myths of Other Tribes

177 As has been repeatedly stated, the Bella Coola have ob-
591 tained many prerogatives by marriages with the members of
[424] neighbouring tribes. Among these are, according to their belief, myths dealing with the peopling of distant localities. Ceremonially and sociologically, such traditions have the same importance as myths that describe Bella Coola as the final place of settlement of the first inhabitants. Accordingly, they can be given at this point.

177 In the previous section the original landing-places of some
591 of the individuals described is said to have been outside the
174 Bella Coola valley. Boas, discussing this fact (p. 123), sug-
114 gests that such myths may reflect the movements of the ancestors of the Bella Coola from the parent Salish stock. Though this is a plausible hypothesis, it is also possible that

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[*] This place could not be identified.
[*] Related by Lame Charlie.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE5 Bellacoola NE5

Bellabella NE5

BC 539 *

air. As they did so the feathers began to move, gradually rising in the air until some passed through the roof. It was as if a miniature whirlwind of gentle power were agitating them. As the three continued to use the sticks, the corpse itself began to move, finally disintegrating into the down and passing through the roof. As it did so the three said:

"Go back whence we came. Yu·······."

Since that time the people of Oweki have disposed of their dead in this manner.

The first *Ähalala* brought with him from above not only the right to a *sisaok* dance, but also a Cannibal *kusiut* dance (II, p. 71) with the Bella Bella name *Lolenax*. He had, moreover, the rare privilege of performing *kusiut* and *sisaok* rites on alternate nights.

BC [966] [177] [424]

This myth is important since it embodies an account of the disappearance of a corpse through a roof, a method of [illegible]moval of the dead now practised by the Bella Coola in the case of chi[illegible]. This custom is recognized by the Bella Coola to have been a recent introduction from either Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet to *Tälio*, and thence to Bella Coola. Judging from this account, it would appear that such a method of removal of a corpse must be considered as originally a prerogative embodied in a myth, although it has ceased to be regarded as such in Bella Coola. The man from whom this tradition was obtained said it was only one of the type current in Bella Coola, though such are common in Bella Bella. It was obtained by the marriage of one of his ancestors to a woman of Oweki, and was used as theme for a mourning ceremony at the death of his sister.

BC [177] [583]

BB 539

BC 539 *

AN EARLY BELLA BELLA MYTH TRANSMITTED BY MARRIAGE TO BELLA COOLA*

In the beginning of time, when the population of the earth consisted only of the few people who had come down from above, *Tcâkimai* went to the Bella Bella town, *[illegible]*, where, as was common at that period, people had no houses but were sheltered under huge trees which *Alquntäm* had placed there for that purpose. *Tcâkimai* was in the form of a man at the time and fell in love with a girl of the village. Her father, *Nü·ɛl*, agreed to the match and the two were married. The husband never slept with his wife; when he wished children, he willed that they

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*Related by Joshua Moody.

L:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

Bc

FRAGMENT OF A KWATNA ORIGIN MYTH

534 BB [534] In the beginning *Alquntam* sent down to *[illegible]*, a point west of Kwatna, two men with their respective wives. The men's names were *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*, and those of the women, *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*.

ORIGIN MYTH OF SCHOONER PASS

In the beginning there came down to *[illegible]*, on Schooner Pass, a woman whose name was *[illegible]*. On the shore of a lake near there she became a shaman, through a vision of which the details are lost. To obtain the continued goodwill of the power residing in the lake *[illegible]* was wont to throw upon the water eagle down and dyed cedar-bark, and used this water when treating patients. One day when she was singing, she was overheard by *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, and *[illegible]*, who had come to earth at the Nass River, *[illegible]*, and were travelling by canoe, looking for a suitable place to settle. The four first named were brothers, the remaining two their sisters. Attracted by the song the six landed and ultimately chose *[illegible]* as their abode, where they lived amicably with the powerful *[illegible]*. In this they were fortunate, for she was so magically endowed that she had success in whatever she undertook.

[illegible] and his brothers built a huge house of the kelp which grew abundantly in the vicinity. In course of time they were able to call people from far and near for a potlatch, at which a whale vomited grease down through the smoke vent on to the central fire causing it to blaze brightly, much to the amazement of the guests.

Bc [424 556] Since that time, whenever the owner of the name *[illegible]* has given a potlatch, carpenters have prepared for him a wooden whale which vomits grease on to the fire, a jealously preserved prerogative.

ORIGIN MYTH OF [illegible]

In the beginning, *Alquntam* sent down *[illegible]* with a herald to *[illegible]*, near a lake in the country now occupied by the Carrier Indians. *[illegible]* brought with him a sack containing the model of a house which, when he set it on the ground, expanded without visible cause into a fine, large dwelling. In front of it there was a towering totem-pole surmounted by an owl.

Related by Steamboat Annie.
Related by Steamboat Annie.
Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

BC 539*

to death. [illegible] was the most prosperous of the brothers; so much had his wealth increased that he was able to call the people from all parts of the coast to a potlatch.

BB 539

[illegible] had given [illegible] the honourable prerogative or duty of singing the mourning song whenever anyone died. When it was time for her to function she painted her face with a design representing a rough sea, and beat time on the floor with a stick, [illegible], on which were jingling copper bangles. The theme was how Raven had brought her help on all occasions.

BC [424] [595]

The right to sing this song has since been preserved as a prerogative in the ancestral family descended from these four brothers. No name accompanies it, but the right must be validated by the giving of presents.

EARLY TRADITIONS HAVING THE CEREMONIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ORIGIN MYTHS

Be 539*

Be [177]

The following are examples of myths which are used as authorization for potlatches even though they do not deal with the actual peopling of this earth. It will be noted that they describe the adventures of early settlers, and only with non-Bella Coola. All are claimed to have been obtained by intermarriage with the descendants of individuals mentioned in them.

AN EARLY [illegible] MYTH

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Bc 539*

Not long after the first people had come to this earth, Raven taught an [illegible] chief, [illegible] by name, how to catch black cod with hook and line. It was summer at the time, and [illegible] began to make preparations for fishing early the following year. He instructed his wife to take three female assistants with her to the woods to collect a large quantity of cedar-bark for making the line, which had to be at least three hundred yards in length, owing to the depth at which black cod are found in Labouchere Channel. The four women returned four days later with a large amount of the material, on which they worked all summer and the following winter. Meanwhile [illegible], with three other men to help him, was busy manufacturing hooks of the usual British Columbia type. They were made from the knots of dead and fallen hemlocks; the interior was first cut out, bent into the desired shape, covered with mountain

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Related by Jim Pollard.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

BB 539 BC 539 BC BB [226] [825]

a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to enter.

Ailsamka told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Ḳomoqwa* sent blackfish to catch me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Ḳā·psaak*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent in a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that abounded in *Ḳomoqwa*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths[38] and they floated up to the surface; of *Ḳomoqwa* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the underworld. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Ailsamka* had not been carried off to *Ḳomoqwa*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

Not long after his daughter's safe return *Ḳā·psaak* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Ḳomoqwa*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Ḳomoqwa*, himself, was shown wearing his large ball topped hat, of the type known as *bifool*.[39]

While *Ailsamka* was under the water *Ḳomoqwa* had shown her *sisaok* whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a *sisaok* initiate.

BC [177] [556]

This was the[40] origin of the *sisaok* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *utämg* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Ḳomoqwa* passed to one of *Ḳā·psaak*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

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BC BB [424] [illegible] [532]

[38] The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

[39] This style was always worn by *Ḳomoqwa* and *Alquntäm* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Ḳomoqwa* or *Alquntäm* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

[40] It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bella bella NE5

BC
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he travelled the whole distance on a single billow, so asked to be sent on a four-billow wave. His canoe was a sea-lion's stomach, into which he climbed through the mouth and which he made watertight by tying up the entrance with the animal's entrails. Whether or not the creature was alive is not clear, but at any rate the man set off in the strange craft. He felt as if he were on the back of an animal which made long, easy, slow bounds; it was the slow surging of a gigantic Pacific comber. After four bounds he untied the neck and found himself at home.

BC
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Certain names have been preserved from this myth. The name *Nepaqa* is now used by a dog, as the owner is the last of her family. Another name is *Tlaxamgmitl*, "The Crash," derived from the metallic sound of the closing door of the sea-lion house. The name *Namatsta* was also obtained inside the house, but the details of its significance are lost.

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BC
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[178]
● [424]

AN EARLY MYTH OF *Kalde·t*[19]

As has been said, ambitious individuals, especially if they lack origin myths of the customary kind, sometimes claim ordinary stories as such. The following is almost certainly a case in point. It was obtained from an unreliable informant, who claimed it as a family myth, and said he had used it at a potlatch. He asserted that it was a Bella Bella story, transmitted through the marriage of one of his ancestors with a Bella Bella woman. Another informant, well versed in Bella Bella folk-lore, recounted another version of the same myth as a mere tale. There seems little doubt that the first narrator had merely laid claim to a common story to supply the deficiency of a true myth.

In the beginning, there came down to earth at the head of Gas Bay, *Kalde·t*, a solitary man whose name was *Kásün·a*. He was so lonely that he made for himself from soft punky wood a woman, dressed her in blankets and clothing, and gave her the name, *Qwa'lems*, which is in the Bella Bella language. *Kásün·a* was a great hunter; every day he went out to seek mountain goats, which provided him with great quantities of grease, as well as yarn that he wove into blankets. Before leaving the house he always placed *Qwa'lems* in front of a loom, put food beside her and told her to eat as much as she liked and to work diligently.

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[19] Related by Kimsquit Alec.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as *Kāsaw-a*, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gas Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, as seated, and laughed heartily to find her made of cotton wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves.

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Soon *Kāsaw-a* entered. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to *Kāsaw-a* that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Sɪsaok Origin Myths

As already stated, many *sɪsaok* names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the *sɪsaok* origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or takes it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a *sɪsaok* prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most *sɪsaok* rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE *Sɪsaok* NAME, *Spuxpuxnā·mpdimut*[illegible]

About 1840, a party of *Xuɪais* Indians[illegible] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so

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[illegible] Related by Joshua Moody.

[illegible] It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carriers, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, *kusiut* dances

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[829]

539 that he was unable to return home. A young Bella Coola
609 woman charitably took the injured man into her house, but
424 though she tended him with care, the injury did not heal properly, and he was crippled for life. He used to work around the house at light chores, but was unable to perform any hard work, and was virtually adopted into the family, though, lacking land in Bella Coola, he could never acquire any real status there. After remaining for more than five years the cripple became ill, and realized that he was about to die. In gratitude to the woman who had sheltered him, he asked her to use his *sisaok* name, *Spanpanxā mpdimat*, for one of her children, if she ever had any. Soon afterwards, the stranger died. The woman's family paid for his burial, and it was recognized that the name, with myth attached, belonged to them. In later years it was duly validated with presents at a potlatch, for the benefit of her son from whom this account was obtained.

The myth is as follows:

539 Long, long ago, a number of the sons of chiefs were playing on the shore of Ootsa Lake, not far from a village. One of them, happening to look upwards, was surprised to see drifting down from a great height a *spanpan*, one of the long feathers which grow on the upper leg of an eagle. They idly wondered who would get it, and pressed close together, ready to struggle, boy-like, for the prize, but it eluded their outstretched hands, and lit on the head of one of the boys. Then, to the amazement of all, he was lifted from the ground, as if the feather had been a magnet drawing him aloft. One of his friends seized his ankles and tried to pull him down, but in vain; moreover, he found that he could not release his grasp. A third lad grasped the feet of the would-be rescuer, but he, too, was lifted from the ground. One after another tried to pull down his friends, but none could do so, until finally all the lads were drawn aloft by the feather, each holding the legs of the one above him. Nothing was ever heard of their fate.

A few years later the father of the boy on whom the feather had fallen gave a potlatch, at which he used this event as a *sisaok* theme for one of his surviving children. A mask representing the sun was used in the belief that this supernatural being alone could have caused such an event.

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[829] and the *sisaok* ceremonial through intermarriage with the coastal people of the Skeena River. Their home is said to be far to the north of Ootsa Lake, but, as no Bella Coola has visited them, little reliability can be placed on this statement.

843 825 be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream. This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by [774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage that of the foetus. Such dangers can be countered by means of magical rites (I, p. 720). The husband is also subject to certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he eats beaver meat his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few [846] days after birth the child is steamed in the smoke of a fire on which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury from the father's quarry.[1]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house, where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional 844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrange- [424] ments are made for the mother or some other experienced female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for elderly female relatives to do so, sometimes those of the wife, sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a [171] house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl. The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

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[1] This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 720).

535 handles of the rattles; symbolizing that they are paid to protect the hands, though the dancers derive no benefit from the pelts, which are stacked with others for later distribution to Y's family. A large amount of provisions has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y's family. In many cases it is difficult to estimate how much food will be required, and if there is a surplus, it is eaten by the performers and other assistants.

When all are ready they rush forth, dancers, dancers' assistants, and young relatives of X, followed more sedately by his father. The rest of the villagers watch with interest, but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position [533] [424] [426] outside Y's house, the singers beat the time of the marriage song used by X's ancestors; if the words are known they sing them. Like the prerogative of marriage dancers, there may not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if X lacks such he is usually able to borrow one.[9] The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to help them with the words or the tune, if necessary. Meanwhile the [535] dancers are performing on the sidewalk outside Y's house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, *kusiut*, *sisauk*, *a'alk*, or even shaman's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is [533] necessary to avoid collisions. The professional dancers accompany the singing with their high-pitched quaver.

Meanwhile Y's father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, waits in readiness within their house. Y herself is

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[9] The reputed origin of marriage songs has been described in vol. I, chap. vi. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than most elements of origin myths; in fact some keepers of the songs are willing to perform at any wedding, although this may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by [214] the senior members of the ancestral family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The text of a song brought down by *Alkuntam* to *[illegible]* is:

"Hello, *[illegible]*! We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry."

Alkuntam obtained this song from his heavenly comrade and used it at his own marriage, as his male descendants have since done.

In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, 553
repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announce- 556
ment was made: 553

"Y's belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's arm has come to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at
Stuix have the prerogative of singing a special song as they [124]
rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first [553]
ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is:

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of
Stuix is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants [786]
used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them.

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551
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ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At intervals, the new song is repeated and *sisaok* members of the audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Frequently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a young *sisaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circumstances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end which it usually achieves. 533 575 766 [535] [767]

As already described, *sisaok* ceremonial was in a state of transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Previous to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been adopted from Rivers Inlet,[*] which has since been claimed by a number of *sisaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite. 575 766 177 424 [178]

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which *Mulakila* came and the *sisaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet. In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor 575 766 532

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[*] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own life-time from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Talio*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

575 766 981 wish to emphasize the importance of this society, state that the deception was always apparent, and that even the hooks and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of portraying the manner in which a man's crest comes to carry away his spirit and life. [184] It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different members of the community. A young and ingenuous uninitiated, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was gazing upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior [illegible] desired him to do; others must have recognized that a deception of some kind was being practised, but dramatization is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such an one to accept the drama as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the crest carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the crest is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and gratifies the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the cloak of the deceased's ancestor.

575 766 Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, details of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized. In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *Malakila*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. [424] It is assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, an act copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants [773] of the person to whom this occurred. There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the outer coast to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. [424] One old man mentioned that an *Owiki* myth in which a

body became eagle down and was wafted upwards is psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen. 575 766 824 [773]

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased. 764 [786] [554]

Heralds announce the hour chosen,* usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially [203] [609]

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*This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the [illegible]. [178]

[illegible]

[illegible]

* 556 commoners may be marked with the same ritual as at a pot-
969 latch, but there is always curtailment of costly features if those
of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected.
474 Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is
that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial
* 556 potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient tradi-
969 tion of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for
[969] him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past.
For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch
of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives ap-
peared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely
chopped undyed cedar-bark in the hair, or with bands of the
[968] same material across their heads. *Alquntäm* had decreed that
they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of
the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such
signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper
validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family
who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only
those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of
presents. This is a masculine professional prerogative, known
[562] by the same name as the feminine one of uttering a droning
cry to which it is closely akin. The right is ratified at memorial
potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of
displaying his own wealth as well as of making plain the glory
of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has
[967] returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in
[171] the myths of many families, nor are they ever as important in
Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the
outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he
notifies the incumbents and asks them to be ready, although,
eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

533 The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs
* 556 at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first
969 invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which
they must be composed. These may include several traditions

[illegible]

only for a chief, can be employed for a dead child. In this case, the theme describes the efforts of the parents to incorporate the deceased in the traditions of their ancestors, and the number of times he had been ceremonially named. The text of one used a few years ago is:

"We said, 'Oh!' [illegible] [the child's name as the Sun] when she was born. What more could we have one? Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of employing mourners, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to give voice to my lamentations."

The tunes of mourning songs are usually remembered from year to year, and the singers may merely alter words to make an old song applicable. In some cases, such compositions are changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of an ancestral family, and may thus be preserved for generations until even the history of the names embodied is forgotten. Occasionally, ancient relationship between two such groups can be deduced from the occurrence of the same tunes in their mourning songs, although all traditions of intermarriage have been forgotten. There is considerable difference between the tunes of *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*; in fact, this distinction may be more important than the themes, since the latter do not invariably conform to the types just described. A few items of ancestral history may be incorporated into a song dealing primarily with the actions of the deceased and *vice versa*. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of each. Much thought is devoted to the compositions, the singers meeting every day to try over and improve one another's efforts. The texts, long and complicated, require much practice, since any error would be an admission of gross inefficiency. These daily rehearsals take place in the donor's house and he is required to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to use a song of Bella Bella origin, since the Bella Coola admit that members of that tribe excel in compositions of this type.

556 769 [537] will now be the forms of the one who has recently died. As soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whose aid has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts the donor's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the mourners' marks and the designs of the totem-poles. Then he continues to the effect that the chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsman, and that [195] this recital will shore him up. The word used for this, *[illegible]*, is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to beat [533] out the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the person who is being commemorated. The guests listen attentively and are suitably impressed by the ancestral history of the donor and his family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession in the same [535] manner. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of ceremony[1] from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

After the last song is the proper time for validating young ● [424] [425] relatives of the donor as mourners. One of the miniature totem-poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back-room and given to the boy on whom this prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker explains the meanings of the designs so displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time slowly, and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the donor and his immediate relatives have been arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and [537] re-counting. As at a potlatch, a fluent speaker is commissioned to hold up the objects, state whence they have been obtained,

[1] [i.e. - the memorial potlatch - ANALYST]

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"Please stop crying. We have made good your memory. You are a light to your brother. Go to *Ämanand* where he stands among the abalone-shells far to the south.[illegible] Thence go overland to Rivers Inlet where a [illegible] will serve as canoe for you.[illegible] You will see the long house where your ancestor obtained shaman's power."[illegible]

[292] Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage. After a short interval, he emerged wearing a blue blanket decorated with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in raven design. He was followed by two other influential members of the *sisauk* society, Alexander Clellamen and Nebuchadnezzar, similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low, sad, penetrating voice of considerable musical power and, followed by the other two, walked slowly in a sunwise circle around the hall, all the time shaking his right hand, held projecting outwards at right angles from his elbow. The song was in Bella Bella, and even the singer did not fully understand the meaning, and few of the audience had any idea of its significance. When the three had almost completed the first circuit, someone brought Reuben a rattle, which he clutched in his right hand as he continued his way. The reason of the shaking at once became evident; he should have had a rattle throughout but few of these were left in Bella Coola at the time and it had not been possible to borrow one before beginning his song. [178] Again the three slowly circled the hall, Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar calling out at intervals:

"Listen to the *mourning* song of the chief."

After the second circuit of the hall, Reuben paused near the singers and spoke to Alec Davis, a *sisauk siki*. The latter rose and stated how the prerogative of *siki*, including the right [424] to sing, unaccompanied, a mourning song on occasions such as this had been transmitted both to Reuben and his brother Harry from *Ao-sti*, a Bella Bella chief to whom they were

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[illegible] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[illegible] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[illegible] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

[illegible]

[illegible]

related through their mother. After a little further discussion, 769
Harry took the rattle from his brother and began to sing as he 556*
walked around the hall, followed by Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar. 533
Harry was less familiar than his brother with the proper words, but supplied this deficiency by humming. [424]
He was also less at ease, and he lacked the musical ability which had made his brother's singing so impressive. After a single circuit, he returned the rattle to Reuben, who continued to go around the hall as he sang. This time he paused at intervals, and kept glancing towards the door, his whole attitude betraying that something was interfering with the previously arranged plans. The purpose of the singing was to summon the dead woman in the form of her crest, but she did not appear. In early times those who were not *naxsid* were told that the words and music penetrated to the upper regions, reminding the deceased of the grief of his relatives and persuading him to return. [778]
This belief had passed away at the time of the ceremony here described, but the fiction was continued, and it had been planned that the representation of the deceased should enter when the song was finished. [609]
It later transpired that the delay was due to a number of white people who, having gathered at the doorway, made the performer unwilling to put on his masks and disguise. Reuben continued to sing half-heartedly, and finally cried out:

"Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis, who had previously left the hall, came rushing in and called out in a loud voice:

"*Qomatsla* (Jessie's ancestral name and the one in connection with which she had been made a chief) is coming. She has been to the scenes of her ancestral myths. Her crests have taken her. She comes as Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, bearing her grandchild."[*]

The speaker is a morose, rather surly individual, usually 769
undignified and often drunk, but on this occasion his manner 556*.
had changed in a remarkable degree. His eyes were bright, his

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[*] Although not yet dead, all hope had been abandoned for the child's recovery.

toward the actor, blowing eagle down over him repeatedly. After one circuit of the hall, the performer passed out through the front door, from the vicinity of which was heard once more the large whistles and the screaming of the eagle, both growing less distinct as if the bird were flying away. 764 556* 535

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic talent and succeeded in giving a realistic display in spite of the glaring lights which exposed his bare feet and betrayed the human handiwork of the mask in a manner impossible in the native type of house with a single, central fire as the sole illumination. The Carriers had watched the performance with interest, probably tinged with contempt, but to the Bella Coola it was no mere spectacle, it was a religious rite of the highest importance. 764 556* All the spectators realized that the figure was human, but this seemed inconsequential as they gazed upon the representation of the dead woman in the form of her crests, to which they believed she had been transformed by death. Even the children were silent, and the only sound during the passage was the wailing of a sleepy infant. The eagle crest belonged to Jessie by virtue of membership in the ancestral family descended from her father's first ancestor, traced patrilineally, who had come to earth at *Tcomait* in the form of this bird. 764 556* 424 ● 178 The blackfish was a crest acquired through her mother; the raven represented a copper raven belonging to an ancestral myth of the dying grandchild. In former times, carpenters would have worked for weeks preparing an elaborate composite figure, but Captain Schooner wished no delay in the ceremony for fear of police interference, so that it was necessary to use what masks happened to be in existence and to place them in conjunction by means of the crude white sheet. Jessie had not been initiated into the *sisaok* society, but no opposition was raised to the use of *sisaok* whistles both on account of her status as chief, and owing to the influence of her father who, a *numitl* chief, feared no restrictions and heeded no conventions. Besides, both her brothers were influ- [575 622]

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cestral ascent. In former times it is certain that objections would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privilege.

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There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal of the figure. Then Reuben threw a copper on the floor in the track taken by the actor "to make bone for the dead woman." A number of chiefs went forward to join the singers and discuss whether or not the copper should be redeemed. No one wished to do so, so Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened to a post over Jennie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

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After interminable discussion in which Captain Schooner, Nebuchadnezzar, Reuben Schooner, Jim Pollard, and Alec Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing the fourth mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this should not have been done at the customary time, after the other three, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song had been composed a number of years previously when Captain Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch, and great care had been expended on its composition owing to the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

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"I, we," they ran, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your heads, listen to our wail. You revered great ones, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither; look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with the words and tune and could accordingly join in.

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Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Reuben and Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner, had been crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony,

777 *787 ● [424] A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he own [785] a portion of a *mätsqus* or a *nusiatl*, through failure to observe ceremonial chastity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mätsqus* and the *nusiatl* are the same animal, which can assume these two forms; others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appearance [173] [184] of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the information to be derived from them is always about that particular creature. Hence the details here described are probably not all known to any one individual.

*787 811 182 The different types of appearances, and the different types of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespective of whether or not the methods used may be in direct contradiction to those employed by someone else on another occasion. A man who has heard of the *mätsqus*, for example, from his father and mother, may describe contradictory means of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that disaster would have followed if the method described had not been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the Bella Coola.

777 *787 [773] According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mätsqus* was brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own ancestors, *Omqomkilika*. It is to this fact that he attributes his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

777 224 elapsed, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again began to use it. Thenceforth he never missed his aim; every shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be obtained by the discoverer of the nest of a *mätsqus*. Each contains small particles of the skin of all animals, including human beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds and toads. The finder must touch the nest with his stick, such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year. He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must

[785] not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone else. Adhering to its end will be four hairs of the *mätsqus*. These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long

[785] worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence. During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phenomenal success. The knowledge of this proper procedure has

● [424] been handed down in an ancestral family for many generations.

777 * 787 On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before

[776] long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew that it must be that of *Twalälit*, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the comrade scraped up a little dirt from the track into his handkerchief. In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the monster toad. That night as the two were encamped a slide came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped

[761] with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died,

* 756 of these demi-gods of antiquity are favourite themes for stories.
538 The powers of the later shamans have been far less than those of their forefathers, and their exploits have been of a somewhat
[773] different character. Hence it is possible to divide the subject into three sections:

(1) Shamanism in the distant past.
(2) Modern shamanism.
(3) Shamans from the dead.

SHAMANISM IN THE DISTANT PAST

Information on this phase is contained in stories and a few anecdotes which describe the achievements of ancient demi-gods, endowed with miraculous powers of various kinds. The tales are similar in type to those dealing with the granting of supernatural aid to the unfortunate, so that it is in many cases difficult to differentiate them. As might be expected these narratives are not exact. Frequently the teller does not know from what being the ancient shaman received his power, nor can he explain the abilities described, which are different from, and superior to, those with which he is familiar. In fact it is customary to describe any mythical hero as a shaman.

● [424] Tales of this kind can be related by any one; they are not the personal property of a specific family. Many of them, that of *Warnalis*, for example, are well known and are told and retold constantly.

In addition to information obtained from stories, a few isolated facts are remembered regarding ancient shamans. It
* 756 is thought that various taboos connected with hunting were
253 learnt by them in the distant past. Such restrictions and in-
[224] junctions were firmly believed in and strictly adhered to until a few years ago, and many of them are still observed. The usual method of hunting harlequin ducks is, or was until recently, from a canoe, with a sapling set up in the bow to hide the hunter, crouched with bow and arrow in readiness; several shamans, however, were able to kill the birds by merely
[262] waving the butt-end of a paddle towards them. Such power

CHAPTER X

STORIES ILLUSTRATING THE SUPERNATURAL

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate—Stories Illustrating Supernatural Good Luck—Stories Illustrating Shamanism

KNOWLEDGE of the contact between supernatural and human beings is based largely upon tales describing such incidents; in fact, generalizations like those made in the last chapter are, as has been already stated, contrary to Bella Coola practice. Such tales are, however, so numerous and so long that their inclusion in the sections describing the kind of experience they illustrate would have made the last chapter unduly cumbersome and confusing. Stories recounting three types of contact with the supernatural are brought together here, not as items of folk-lore, but as basic material to supplement the relevant sections of the last chapter. These legends are not family property, but are considered to be historical incidents which can be related by anyone. 538 787* [424]

STORIES ILLUSTRATING SUPERNATURAL AID GRANTED TO THE UNFORTUNATE

THE GAMBLER'S SUCCESS

Four brothers, of whom the youngest was named *Djaodje-sa*, were very fond of gambling with crabapple sticks. They played on all occasions, but with such lack of success that they lost first their goods, then their houses, their mother, their children, their wives, and finally themselves. The three older men went hunting every day, but *Djaodje-sa* remained in the house as if he had no heart to do more than lie down and die. Perhaps he had an inspiration; at any rate he was deceiving his brothers, because as soon as they had gone out he used to get up and collect clams which were plentiful below the floor of the house. These were his sole sustenance, but he also chewed the fin of an old salmon, which served to exercise his jaws. Before his brothers' return *Djaodje-sa* always lay down in his corner, covered with an old dirty blanket, as if he 525 539* 787*

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The woman's husband was not dismayed at her death, knowing she deserved it on account of having spoken harshly to her son-in-law. This was the only occasion on which *Tsaiaklit* killed anyone. After the funeral he said to his father-in-law:

"I am sorry for what has happened. If I had intended to slay your wife I should have done so by means of my supernatural power, whereas her death was caused accidentally by the too-great force latent in my own body."

"Do not let this event trouble you," the other man replied. "We all realize that my wife was in the wrong and thus caused her own death. I will take a new wife from among your relatives, and there the matter will drop."

A year later the marriage took place and the death of *Tsaiaklit's* mother-in-law was thus amicably settled.[7]

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF *Yalhal·a*

Yalhal·a was very poor. He hunted diligently but was never successful, and the people of the village used to laugh at him. When feasts were given, *Yalhal·a* received a share, but he was never able to reciprocate, and this preyed on his mind. One day he set out at dawn for the mountains with his stick and his dog, but though he hunted industriously he returned at night with nothing better than herbs to cook for his supper. Undaunted, he set off again the following day, but had no better success, and again brought back only vegetables for his evening meal. He placed these on a stick before the fire to dry, and lay down, weary and depressed. Presently he saw a man enter the house and stand on the other side of the fire; around his head he wore a snake, which stamped him as a shaman. It was *Tsaalitlit*, but *Yalhal·a* did not know this.

"*Yalhal·a*, what are you cooking?" asked the visitor.

"Mountain goat liver," he lied in answer.

Tsaalitlit next inquired, "Is your dog a good mountain goat dog?"

"Yes," replied *Yalhal·a*, untruthfully. "Every day he goes hunting he kills twenty mountain goats."

"Is your stick a good one?" inquired *Tsaalitlit*.

"Yes," answered *Yalhal·a*, "I always kill a great many mountain goats with it."

Tsaalitlit then suggested that they exchange dogs and sticks. *Yalhal·a*, though at first unwilling, at length consented, and his visitor went away, leaving his own staff and dog behind.

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[7] The above is regarded as an historical account, and the descendants of those who figure in the story consider that they have prior rights to relate it. But as it has no ceremonial significance, this claim is not pressed.

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hand, as if it had been a blow from a feather, and wrenched it from his opponent. Another of the brothers likewise struck at him with a pole, but again Ḳwinas seized it from his grasp. Then he stretched out one hand, caught the holder of the stick by the neck, and squeezed until the man's head parted from his body. In the same manner Ḳwinas killed two more of the brothers, allowing only one of them to escape. His bear friends had been in the vicinity, but help from them was not required.

Ḳwinas finished the construction of his olachen-weirs and then went back to his aunt's house. The brother who had escaped had already brought tidings of what had occurred, and the old woman, fearful of the consequences, angrily asked Ḳwinas why he had done such a thing. He quickly quieted her by reminding her that it was she who had led him to think of revenge by telling him of the reason of his father's murder.

Ḳwinas remained quietly at home for the rest of that summer and the ensuing winter, but early in the spring he began to build an enormous salmon-weir. The fame of his strength had spread far and near among the coastal people so that many of them came to assist him. The weir was rapidly finished and was a great success. With the wealth of salmon obtained, Ḳwinas was able to give numerous potlatches and took for himself the name *Łálilxdja*. In course of time he married the daughter of ayxwayat.

Ḳwinas was a great inventor. The next winter he made a net for olachen, which he used with great success in the spring. It was the first time that this had ever been done and the pattern he used has since been copied by the Kimsquit people. The following winter his aunt, acting on his instructions, made the first small salmon-net. Not only are the invention of these two useful articles ascribed to Ḳwinas, but also the first use of the bow and arrow, as well as other valuable appliances. After a long life he died, but he is still remembered for his achievements.[24]

A NEGLECTED OPPORTUNITY

[P28]

A few Bella Coola believe that supernatural experiences of the foregoing type tend to occur in certain families, although not with sufficient frequency to be called an inheritable characteristic. A middle-aged man who held this belief gave the following account of a personal encounter.

His father had obtained power from a black bear, and once when hunting he himself saw a track of which three footprints were those of a

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[P24]

[24] The above differs from the usual tales of this category in that the participants are well known. In consequence their descendants take a family pride in it and tend to add it to the ancestral myth of the first *Ḳwinas*, perhaps improperly. Probably it is a tale that members of a certain family have sought to ascribe to their own ancestors.

has gone contrary to something about which there has been 771
universal agreement for generations. 754

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary 828
to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, [784]
and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise
them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to [755]
those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all
medicines, whether curative or causative.

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of 424
medicines. Knowledge of many remedies has been handed down 755
for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are 757
acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and
some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular
medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often
attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like [614]
other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type
can be practised by any member of the group to which it
belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using
one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for
them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, [465]
depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty
of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and
so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be
made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment,
but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using
it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction
that only a person with the inherited right to a certain
cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is [614]
sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an
ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on [425]
the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies
are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance
of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At
the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship
of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible.

846 ating point shall be one year after the birth. Early on the
856 morning of this day, he takes the umbilical cord and goes far
into the mountains until he finds a place where the grass is
789 matted and the earth packed, showing that a mountain goat
[785] has slept there. He digs a hole, inserts the cord in it, and
covers it with stones, praying as he does so:

"Please, father! May my son be skilful, may he be successful in hunting mountain goats."

This has the effect of showing the child where these animals are to be found. The father then returns home.

Four days later he goes back to the same spot, digs up the umbilical cord, brings it home and hangs it in the doorway of the house. Should this be omitted, the child would have an intense longing to hunt in the mountains and would leave home at the first opportunity, but would be unable to return. The cord is left suspended for four days, then taken to the forest and deposited under an overhanging rock where no water can penetrate. It dries in course of time but no further attention is paid to it.

[868] A child so treated begins to hunt birds and squirrels when
he is eight or ten years of age, and later follows mountain goats
with obsidian-pointed arrows. This medicine has been handed
[424] down in certain families for generations. If a parent, not
possessing the prerogative, wishes to have it applied to his
child, he requests one who is entitled to use it to perform with
his son's umbilical cord in the manner just described. He is
later paid for his assistance.

A similar, though simpler medicine is for the father to take the fallen umbilical cord to the mountains immediately and bury it beneath stones where a mountain goat has been lying. Four days later he returns to the spot, digs up the cord, and brings it home, thus ensuring that the child will have no fear of the mountains and will be a successful hunter of mountain goats. In such cases it is customary for the mother to preserve her son's cord during his childhood so that he will not become careless.

789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.

[532] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence
[826] that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes.
[825] A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach,
whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is
often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[622] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious,
and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For
771 example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Alquntäm*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
belong unquestionably to the category described in the pre-
856 ceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

789 856 morning to whip his son. It is clear, however, that such was regarded as proper by anyone practising this medicine, even though few did so regularly.

MEDICINES APPLIED TO YOUNG DOGS

789 231 *To Cause Ability in Hunting*

When a bear has been killed and the first incision made for skinning it, take a puppy, force its head inside the opening, and rub it to and fro. Throw the animal into the river and when it has swum ashore, repeat the rite. If this act is repeated four times, the dog will grow up to be a good hunter.

To Cause Ability in Hunting Beaver

Wrap the puppy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw it into the river to the accompaniment of handclapping from as many as happen to be present. After submersion for a few moments, remove the bundle and throw it in again. Repeat this twice more. This makes the dog grow up unafraid of water and, accordingly, useful in hunting beaver.

To Cause Disregard of Musket Shots

Lay some black powder at the nose of a sleeping puppy and ignite it. The dog will grow up without fear of musket shots.

To Cause Keen Scent

Slit any kind of salmon so that the liver is exposed and hold the puppy with its nose immediately over this. Make an incision in the tip so that the blood flows freely on to the organ of the salmon. Hold the animal until flies have gathered from all directions to feast upon the fish and fresh blood.

The dog will grow up with the ability to locate game in any direction, just as flies gather wherever there is blood. He will also have their ability to travel without requiring a path. [424] One old man stated that this medicine was the property of an ancestral family, and should be used when a puppy is one month old.

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To Cause Ability in Hunting Mountain Goats

Steep the freshly removed head of a fisher, wolf, or wolverine in smoke for four days. Break a hole in the top of the skull and hold the puppy's head over this; then slit its nose so that the blood drips down into the interior of the cranium. Release the dog, take the head to the mountains and bury it in the ground beneath a spot where mountain goats have been sleeping. Dig it up four days later and conceal it under a shelving rock where it is protected from the rain.

This medicine causes the dog to grow up with knowledge of the haunts of mountain goats as well as with the bravery of whichever animal was used. This means can be practised only by members of the ancestral families to which it belongs. [424]

To Cause Ability in Hunting Otters or Seals

Obtain the head of whichever is desired, and proceed as described for mountain goats. Instead of burying, place the skull under shelter near a creek much frequented by land otters, or near the ocean where seals are plentiful. It need not be taken up after four days.

To Cause General Ability

This medicine can be applied only by a successful hunter, who expects compensation for his assistance. It is employed when a puppy is about one month old.

Early in the morning the hunter seats himself on a box within the house of the dog's master, his legs stretched out before him. He seizes the puppy firmly and passes it, sunwise, around and under his legs four times, frequently spitting on its nose and kneading it with his hands to make that organ slender. This causes the animal to grow up with good tracking ability, while the passing makes it faithful to its master. Next the hunter seizes the dog by the hind legs and swings it four times, sunwise, over and through the smoke of the fire. This prevents it from being dizzy and afraid of precipitous mountains, but if it yelps as it travels through the air, it will be a poor dog. Finally, the hunter carries it to the river and throws

757 (2) Place on the surface of the skin nearest the pain hemlock gum and a human bone taken from that part of the skeleton adjacent to the seat of the discomfort.

[424] This medicine is the property of several ancestral families and can be used only by members of them.

For Stomach Trouble and Rheumatism

Scrape in the earth a hole about six inches deep and six feet in length. In the bottom deposit a large number of hot stones and cover them with a thin layer of river sand mixed with fine gravel. On these place as many herbal medicines as possible; such as nettles, devil's club bark, western dock, cottonwood leaves, green moss-like growths from water-covered stones, bark from spruce saplings, and the debris from cones eaten by squirrels. The actual ingredients vary according to season; in winter, for example, only one or two may be available. Mats are thrown over the plants for the patient to lie upon, covered by additional ones. A helper is always present to sprinkle him with water when the heat becomes too great and to rub away the sweat which pours off with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark. Instances are remembered of patients going to sleep in this type of sweat-house and being severely burnt.

For a person who is very ill, the hole is dug within the house, near the central fire, otherwise it is located at any convenient spot in the woods. This remedy is known to, and can be used by, everyone.

For Stomach Trouble and Water in the Blood

Dig a hole about three feet deep and with the same diameter. Throw hot stones in the bottom and place a rack of crossed and tied sticks across the excavation below the level of the ground. On this place medicinal herbs as described in the last remedy. The patient squats over the hole, enclosed in a tent-like shelter of mats or cedar-bark. Water is thrown on the stones and the enclosure prevents the resultant steam from escaping.

This type of smoke-house, which can be used by anyone, is usually built in the forest. The Bella Coola have great confidence in the use of one as a means of curing all types of internal ailments, especially from the bad effects of water which is believed to have entered the blood. In former years many patients were blinded by the steam affecting their eyes, so that a recent improvement has been the construction of a door-like opening through which the head projects. Many stories are told of people being cured in this way after a white doctor had abandoned hope. 757

No Bella Coola had heard of a smoke-house large enough to contain more than a single individual, and a question whether they were ever used as meeting-places was regarded as highly humorous and absurd. [343]

For Ailments of the Heart

The patient must eat some of his own excrement mixed with certain herbs, of which it was impossible to learn the species. This remedy can be used only by the members of certain ancestral families. [424]

For the Blood

The following medicine is the property of certain families; consequently, anyone else who wishes to use it must obtain the services of an owner to apply it, and must recompense him for so doing. [424]

The man who is to apply the remedy locates a pond where water-lilies are growing and then searches for four spruce saplings growing in line, approximately east to west. He cuts four branches from the east side of each tree and lays these beside the pond with a small space between each bunch. Then he pulls up some lily roots, lays them in the three gaps between the boughs, and wraps the whole into a bundle with a cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark which he winds around, clock-wise. On returning home, the practitioner must not carry his burden through the door but

757 throw it in through the smoke-vent. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[776] [773] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, that when a *sisiutl* swims through a pond it frequently sheds some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment: He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. [761] The breaking of one of these taboos causes his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care.

755 *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

[424] Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for generations in certain familes. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. [424] It is the property of several ancestral families, and must be administered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

grave. When, presently, he feels sick and believes that the ghost has caused the malady, he throws the object he has obtained on a fire and allows the smoke to drift over his body. It is not known how this destroys the power of the dead victim. 755 775

At present (1922), in case of unexpected death in which murder is suspected, the relatives keep the body under lock and key and watch carefully to see whether anyone tries to gain access to it. To endeavour to do so would be considered [695] proof of guilt. For the same reason, they may place boards over the grave and watch it for several weeks. As already described, a middle-aged woman died unexpectedly in 1922. Her father, believing that she had been murdered, expressed the opinion that a certain man was the criminal and that he would die within a year. He outlived this period by three weeks and it was generally agreed that the power of thought had been sufficient to cause the death. Apparently, the father shared this view and expected the ghost of the alleged murderer to be hostile, for he made two efforts to enter the shed where the body was lying, but the relatives of the deceased foiled him by locking all doors and windows. When he himself died a few weeks later, it was taken for granted that the ghost had exacted vengeance.

To Cure a Malady Caused by a Sorcerer

The most complicated medicine about which information 755 was obtained was one employed by an elderly Bella Coola who had incurred the enmity of a sorcerer. The latter had succeeded in breaking a triangular bone in the man's chest which would have caused his death if his mother had not consulted an old woman who knew the proper remedy for such an ailment. This knowledge had been handed down in her family for generations [424] and she was rewarded lavishly for her services. It will be convenient to refer to the patient as X and the old woman who treated him as Y.

X's mother requested the services of Y who agreed to assist and called upon her husband to help her. They scoured the

755 of water in which had been boiled eight splinters from a coffin. She would have obtained two from each side, and two from each end, in each case inserting the point of a crooked knife to pry loose a fragment of the wood, and then pulling it off in the same direction as the sun travels. It would have been immaterial from which aspect the first had been taken, but Y would have been careful to move around the coffin from east to south to west to north, corresponding to the course of the sun.

It is believed that no one has now the ability to use this cure.

Sorcerers

754 Among the causative medicines of which knowledge has
been handed down in various families for generations are secret
[424] means of killing. Every sorcerer must have such a possession,
but he is not so branded unless he begins to exercise his powers
for anti-social purposes. For example, if it be known that a
[575] certain individual is able to cause death, the members of the
kusiut society are eager to admit him to their group, so that his
ability will be at their disposal to punish anyone who breaks
their regulations. Likewise, if a chief decides that a certain
[622] man should die, the power of his thoughts may suffice to cause
the death, but the desired end will be effected more certainly
by requesting aid from the owner of a means of killing. Such
[756] an individual is frequently a shaman who is only too glad of
an opportunity to exhibit his powers. The following methods
of execution are said to have been employed socially, that is,
with the connivance or at the request of chiefs or the members
of the *kusiut* society:

(1) The executioner scratches for four successive nights on the door of the victim's house. If the latter suspects what is to take place, he may endeavour to escape by remaining awake which renders the scratching powerless. It is said that no one has been able to remain sleepless for more than three nights which gives the killer his opportunity.

by their owners for safety. Judas, an old Bella Coola believed 754
to be a sorcerer, has been seen to scrape up the moist earth [683]
where a man has urinated; in former times anyone doing such a suspicious act would have been killed. The article obtained is hidden and kept for future use, and if the practitioner wishes to inflict pain or death, he places it in contact with some potent medicine. Human bones are frequently employed for this purpose, although the most powerful is said to be grease obtained by boiling flesh cut from the inner side of the thigh of a recently buried corpse. To obtain either of these, graves must be robbed, another reason for hating sorcerers.

Secrecy is essential, so a sorcerer is usually assisted by his children, and in this way he has a better chance of obtaining articles belonging to different people without arousing sus-
picion. The necessary knowledge can accordingly be trans- [424]
mitted from generation to generation, sometimes without the slightest inkling of it becoming known. Even if a man is found out, he may be able to bribe his discoverer to silence.

Sometimes two from different tribes work in partnership to 648
lessen the danger of practising their rites near the village of a 754
victim. For example, a Bella Coola sorcerer may send an article to an accomplice in Bella Bella for placing in contact with strong medicine; this causes the victim to languish and die while the person responsible continues his usual routine of life around the village, suspected by no one. The commencement of such a partnership is a matter of great difficulty, since anyone who admits his crimes places himself in the power of his confidant. Sometimes, however, rumours that a certain individual is practising malevolent magic reach a foreign sorcerer who needs an accomplice. If he considers that the information is authentic, he may admit his own prowess and suggest that they work together. Such an arrangement is profitable to both parties, and a partnership so formed may continue for generations.

Sorcerers display considerable ingenuity in arranging that 754
their skill shall bring them pecuniary benefits as well as the 756

women listening from the village are able to tell how many 226
have been caught from the number of times the cry *xak‘loi·* is 796
raised.

Then the salmon are cut up (only shell knives may be [412]
used for the purpose) and cooked. Everything must be used,
heads, bones, and entrails, the only refuse being the blood
which is scraped from the leaves and carried into the woods.
The leaves themselves, and the strings of dyed and undyed
cedar-bark are thrown into the river in accordance with a
desire expressed by *Noākx̣mm* long ago. When everything is 226
ready for a meal, the men take their places in two rows, 796
facing each other across a coarse bark mat. Bark spoons 574
have been provided, and when the heralds call for food, the
fisherman brings the heads of the salmon and the guests
make the motions of eating, though in reality these parts [251]
are dried and kept for winter. Boxes containing a liberal
portion of the choice meat are next served and all eat freely.
Each guest puts on one side what he has not consumed as if to
carry it away, as is the custom at an ordinary feast, though his
share is really left in the shelter until the following day. Finally, a third course is provided, the back of the fish cooked with
the bone in position. Like the last, the guests eat as much as
they desire and pack up the residue as if to take away. Then
they leave the Spring Salmon House.

All the fish are not cooked on the one occasion. The following day the fisherman again calls back the men of his village. The same type of meal is served, but this time the
guests carry away what they do not eat for the benefit of their
families. This portion may be eaten by the women without [562]
affronting the salmon.

This rite has not been performed in full detail in Bella Coola 226
for many years, and it was impossible to collect information on 796
some points. It is uncertain, for example, whether this cere-
mony was carried out by every fisherman or whether there used 424
to be certain individuals with the prerogative of dealing with
the first catch. The latter appears to be the most logical

226 manner, and was definitely stated to be the case by one well-
informed old man. It is clear, however, that every spring
796 salmon was landed with the cry of *xak'loi·*, taken to the Spring
[424] Salmon House, and cut up by the men until the time when
women were allowed near the river. Another old man stated
[574] that the feast took place at night and that only the heads and
[251] refuse of the first catch were eaten, the remainder being dried
for the winter. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed
[562] on the river bank, and were rigorously excluded from the
Spring Salmon House until the time when the sun's shadow
reached a diagonal scar on the slope of one of the mountains
on the north side of North Bentinck Arm. This occurs about
August. From that time onwards, there was no calling of
xak'loi·, and women, except those who were taboo, could cut
salmon freely on the bank. It was even stated that refuse of
salmon could be thrown into the river after that time. No one
knows the origin of this seasonal prohibition, or why it should
end when the sun reaches a certain point, but it was faithfully
observed in former times.

In Kimsquit similar rites were carried out, the chief variation being that the bodies of four swans were placed in the Spring Salmon House and the fish laid with these at intervals in the line. Moreover, the youth used to bite the back of each salmon as he presented it with the cedar-bark streamer. The same regulations with regard to drinking water, and crying after eating, were enforced for spring salmon as for olachen.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

372 The following miscellaneous beliefs and customs cannot be assigned to any special aspect of Bella Coola life:

If a spark from a fire jumps out and lights on a person's hand, it is said:

"The fire wants to give you [the person on whom the brand has fallen] food."

827 If a man sneezes repeatedly, it is said:

535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
796 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort
is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights, and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes place, is termed a *nuqpik*, "An Empty House." The significance of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
At the present time every Bella Coola is a *kusiut*, even babes
[424] in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-bearing before admission. Since only a member of the society
[551] could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-
*575 natural powers of its members, and as there are now none to
796 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pic-
128 tures of what took place years ago. It is the aim of the Bella Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in attendance, and since most of the following information was obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

*575 the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that
796 the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed
and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the
781 dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sympathetically,
[787] marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed
feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have
similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of
their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to
life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he
could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is
due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious
fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of
an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to
[766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member
[761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried
secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to
some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction
readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral
rites.

*575 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut*
to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the per-
778 formance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is
787 equally well known that his specific power has been brought
to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor
424 must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and
at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives
of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was
deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuskâsiatsta* (also
called *nusai'ipsta*), by the supernatural woman *Ânoˀlikwotsaix*.
Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a
large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain
his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with
his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its
[776] repository and in each of these is *Ânoˀlikwotsaix*; she is one,
yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots,
corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the 575*
patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could 787
only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain
the *kusiut* prerogative there localized. *Ano'likwolsaix* travels 424
only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every [778]
kusiut dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and
pointed chin (see Plate 13),[5][4] who "explains" the significance [776]
of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories she knows the prerogative of each member of the society. Frequently she mocks the uninitiated:

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kusiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one singled out for *Ano'likwolsaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kusiut* chosen for fluency and ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children
that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves, [776]
Ano'likwolsaix bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her fingers like a dancer.

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*tcu*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kusiut*."

To further this deception, *kukusiut* are accustomed to dis- 575*
guise themselves as *Ano'likwolsaix* and move around in the
autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near 778
for safety. An individual may have several *kusiut* preroga- 425
tives, and if he wishes to transfer one of these to an associate, the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nuḥaxem*, an

? [See category 116, p. 84(A) - ANALYST]
^ (Apparently 'Plate' 1 is meant)

*575 778 untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]." 425 [784] Some of these vaults[1] are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

*575 778 776 According to Kimsquit belief, *Ȧno°likwolsaix* has a husband, *Ȧlmoqltaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository. If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls dead before the power emanating from *Ȧno°likwolsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

*575 Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. ● [424] Many *kukusiut* have, for example, Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. [773] [178] Mythology records, and it appears to be a fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

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[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[1] [i.e. - a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

*575 their faces. In spite of what he may have seen, the lad cannot
781 rid himself of the supernatural fears with which he has been
626 inculcated from childhood, and the experience is terrifying to
a degree. It may be that he has seen some of the whistles, and thereby learnt that the strange sounds are made by men, not by supernatural beings. In this case he is shown their mechanism in detail, and warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells others of his knowledge. Fear impels him to silence, and at the same time he realizes that what he has discovered has placed him in a superior position to that of his former associates. He feels, too, that he has been admitted into the ranks of the society in which his father, grandfather, and ancestors have distinguished themselves, and that it would be desecration to make light of what they have held sacred. Finally, an initiate does not at first grasp the fact that all the rites are deceptions, and by the time that this is apparent to him he has become so thoroughly a part of the organization that he has no thought of betraying his associates, upsetting a vital part in the complicated fabric of Bella Coola life, and exposing himself to ruin and death. A logical white man might think these considerations insufficient, but the existence of the society proves that the varied motives operate so strongly that a
[828] young man does keep silence. Some informants state that
hypnotism was formerly used to ensure obedience.

*575 The *kukusiut* are always ready to deal with an emergency
176 such as sometimes occurs in spite of every precaution. It is
781 remembered that about one hundred and fifty years ago during
● 424 a dance at the village of *Nuqáxmáts*, a figure, representing one
of the supernatural beings, had the misfortune to drop his mask, the strings by which it was tied having worn through. The house was crowded with uninitiated to whom the deception at once became apparent. For a moment there was wild confusion, but the senior *kukusiut* rose to the occasion and closed the door, allowing no uninitiated person to leave. Then a *kusiut* was sent out with a whistle which he sounded as if the supernatural being of which it was the voice was growing

nearer and nearer, till finally a thump was heard on the roof. 575*

O · · · ·, cried out the *kukusiut*, "it is my patron." 176

The uninitiated were told that in consequence of the dis- 781
aster, the supernatural beings had sent calls to this earth for 424
all within the house. Even small children were admitted on this occasion. Those *kukusiut* in whose families were dormant prerogatives at once explained to their relatives that the call was from the patron of one of these, and that henceforth the person addressed was a protégé of that being. But even with the assistance of all the *kukusiut*, there were not sufficient privileges for all who had seen the accident. The explanation hastily agreed upon for those who could not otherwise be provided with prerogatives, was that a supernatural being mentioned in the myth from which the uninitiated had derived his ancestral name had come as patron. Repositories were stated to exist in various places near the village for the designations thus created, and order had been restored before morning. This event was described by so many informants that its historical accuracy can hardly be challenged. Those so initiated were said to have become "*kukusiut* under easy circumstances"; as prerogatives they had merely the right of singing about their respective patrons, not of performing any particular dramatic dance, but they were, none the less, fully qualified members of the society. The prestige and influence of this organization can be estimated by the fact that it was thus able to carry through a wholesale initiation without its secrets becoming known in adjacent villages. Those admitted, though realizing that deception was being practised, were so overawed by the other members of the society that they accepted what was told them without question, entirely failing to use their common sense. Thus, this incident, which had at first threatened disaster, ultimately reacted to the advantage of the *kukusiut*. It is true that their prestige was somewhat diminished by the admission of young people, but in compensation they claimed many new patrons, including several regarded with veneration owing to their occurrence in ancestral myths. Since the latter 575*
176

Not knowing where to go nor what to do, he hid himself on a small island within sight of the village whence he could see and hear the people seeking him. At times some of his *kukusiut* friends came close, calling his name; but not till he was driven to do so by hunger did he reveal his hiding-place. Then he answered the shouts of two men who at first pretended they were merely seeking him because of the worry his prolonged disappearance was causing his parents. Once the lad was within their grasp they carried him swiftly to the house of one of the chiefs, where he found himself seated among the most influential men of his village with the door barred behind him. The fear which any youth would feel in like circumstances was increased greatly by the awe with which he, as an uninitiated person, regarded the *kukusiut*, especially on this occasion when he knew that he had roused their anger. 575* [781]

"What did you hear?" asked one of the marshals. The lad was too terrified to lie, so he blurted out all the gossip he had overheard, including the news of the death of the Rivers Inlet Cannibal.

"You have heard too much, you must join us," continued his questioner.

The same man then asked one of his relatives whether he would "buy" the lad from them, that is, whether they would provide the necessary goods to have him initiated. It was understood that through his improper knowledge he had come under the jurisdiction of the *kukusiut* and that, unless made one of them, they would kill him. The lad was the protégé of his uncle who at the time was initiating him into the *sisauk* ceremonial, and who accordingly was most unwilling to have his nephew made a *kusiut*. [688]

"Let him be a spy," said the uncle.

After much discussion this proposition was agreed to; the decision was facilitated by the fact that one of the lad's ancestors had been a spy. All night he was kept sitting in the centre of a group of elders who revealed to him the mysteries of the organization and showed him the whistles and other regalia. For twenty years this man remained a spy, dutifully informing upon any over-inquisitive, uninitiated person.

The informant was more than sixty years of age when he related this incident, but the passage of time had not caused him to forget the utter terror and feeling of inferiority experienced when he was taken into the presence of the senior *kukusiut*. [781]

Although every *kusiut* assists in preserving the dignity and awe of the society, this duty is especially the function of those members who are regarded as the earthly representatives of 575* 424 776

*575 *Āno°likwolsaix.* They may be termed marshals of the society. ● [424] Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly validated by presents to the *kukusiut*, in addition to a *kusiut* pre- [776] rogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *kusiut* dance, the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admonishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society, to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation, and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a non-member is over-inquisitive. *575 If any member of the society should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are 688 present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result, revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law. The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *kusiut* who should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated. Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not many years ago a *kusiut* woman gave birth to a child while a dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the [761] marshals. The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being caused the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*575 Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of 551 this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed [424] from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from *Āno°likwolsaix* by an ancestor of the possessor, others were [553] created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and duly made valid by presents to the *kukusiut* alone. Some of these names are:

Xwolsekmis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

*575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
Qomqo·ts, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
688 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
721 News of the accident reaches *Tāl·io* or Kimsquit and the
[628] inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tcibusa*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
● 424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *kusiut* has:

553 (1) *A Kusiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may
[556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a 575*
potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails consider- 424 ●
able expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony 425
frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for
generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return 553
is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a [556]
kusiut name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of [578]
them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is [426]
customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new
kusiut prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes
a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person
who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

(2) *A Patron*, *omätuts*. Little need be said on this point. 575*
The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his 424
patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of
the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any 776
type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé per- [533]
form on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing [535]
of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the
same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these
to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power.
Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which [578]
they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one indi-
vidual may own several prerogatives with different patrons.
Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are
not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six dis-
tinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of
these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

(3) *A Repository*. In this subterranean shelter his name 575*
remains, guarded by *Äno°likwolsaix*. An individual with sev- 424
eral prerogatives has a repository for each.
778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual [773]
is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural
origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the [781]
abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

*575 this undoubtedly leads them to believe in the powers which ●424 they claim. Each *kusiut* prerogative has had one of three origins: 773

778 [781] (a) It was brought down by the first people. Before coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his patron, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each was "blind" to the patrons of his fellows, and thus had only one.

[787] (b) It was derived from an experience with one of the supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes altered an ancestral to a *kusiut* name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the choice of a patron,[4] and usually made his own repository within his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave there. Although several Bella Coola informants described [184] this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by *Nunudjiẋnɪm*, a male supernatural being sent down by *Ălquntäm* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Ăno°likwolsaix* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *kusiut* is always derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out *575 the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his 778 forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

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[4] The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

575*
years in deceiving, undoubtedly begins to convince himself 778
that he is different from lesser mortals.

Before describing in detail initiation into the *kusiut* society, 575*
and then the ritual of various dances, it will be convenient to
outline the type of ceremonial, although emphasizing the fact 796
that each differs so much from every other that lengthy descriptions will be necessary later on. When a person has been initiated, either in the proper manner during the ceremonial season or as a "shaman" during the summer, he is known as a *lsux*, a novice, until the *kusiut* dances of the next winter.
During this period he wears certain distinctive cedar-bark [301]
ornaments and is expected to keep himself somewhat apart from the uninitiated. He is always required to give his ceremonial during the first dance season after initiation; by so
doing he ceases to be a novice. In later years a *kusiut* can 575*
suit himself whether or not to perform. Having once done so,
he is a fully qualified member of the society, nor does he in- 796
crease his rank in direct proportion to the number of his cere- 556
monies. It is true that one who often dances hears himself praised by the marshals, and gains a certain amount of fame among his fellow *kukusiut*. But no matter how often he may perform, he cannot become a chief, with prestige spread far and wide among neighbouring tribes, nor can he increase the fame of his ancestors by adding lustre to his ancestral names. Thus the benefits are not sufficient to urge a man to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials in preference to potlatches. The 575*
society is essentially one in which a relatively poor man can
display his semi-religious prerogative equally with a chief. 796
Usually, a man performs a complicated ritual, such as that of 424
a Cannibal dance, three or four times during his lifetime; less onerous ones in which no dramatic theme is presented may be more often given.

A man who proposes to give a dance must always notify one of the marshals of his village, who summons his fellows, some of the senior members of the society, and chiefs who are also *kukusiut* to discuss the intention. If it entails one of the

*575 more difficult dramatic rites in which failure would lead to the
796 uninitiated learning the mysteries of the society, the matter is
debated at length. The writer was present at one meeting held
424 for this purpose, with regard to a performance which had not
been carried out for over thirty years. An air of solemnity
was evident throughout, as if each present realized the gravity
of the topic. The prospective dancer explained what he wished
to do, then anyone was at liberty to comment, and most of
those present took advantage of it, the marshals speaking last
of all. The influence of each speaker depended in part on the
[554] type of *kusiut* dance which he himself had given, and in part
on his general status in the community as chief or otherwise,
an intangible position dependent on public estimation rather
than upon functional rights. In this case, after considerable
discussion, it was decided that the dancer could proceed with
his arrangements. But if there should be any doubt as to the
would-be performer's ability, the marshals have no hesitation
in prohibiting his intended rite, and they often do so later if
rehearsals show that it is unlikely to be successful.

Refusal of permission to perform occurs only in case of the more difficult dances, which include the Cannibal, Scratch, Breaker, Fungus and *Kusiotem*. Members of the society whose prerogatives are for one of these types are considered as having greater importance than those who can merely sing of some minor deity-patron; yet all are equally members of the *kusiut* society, which is not graded according to the performances of its members.

*575 Many of the more difficult dances require weeks of pre-
796 paration, when it is sometimes said that the dancer has disappeared to the land above. When he returns they usually
conclude in four nights, the time taken by those of a simpler
[104] type. Each of these nights[1] is known by an untranslatable
term, and, as it will be necessary to use these throughout, it
may assist the reader to summarize the ritual which takes
place on each. It can be assumed that it is a simple dance,
that is, one without elaborate preliminaries.

[1] [i.e. of a Kusiut dance - ANALYST]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

The following morning the *kukusiut* alone are invited to X's 575*
house. The marshals meanwhile superintend the laying and 796
lashing of planks across two river dug-outs to form a dancing
platform. On this the singers take their places, in addition to [535]
as many *kukusiut* as can scramble aboard. The craft is slowly
poled either up- or downstream, according to the direction of
X's repository, and more *kukusiut* accompany it along the bank;
the uninitiated watch with keen interest from the background.
X and his companions proceed towards the river and on
meeting the lashed-together canoes are taken aboard. The
singers strike up any well known *kusiut* tune, and in time to
it as many *kukusiut* as possible dance on the platform surmounting [535
the craft. Each uses his own style of dancing according 424]
to his prerogative, so that the scene is strikingly varied
and animated. X himself cowers in the centre, practically
concealed from the uninitiated by the dancers. On reaching
the village the whole party hurriedly runs to X's house, from
which the uninitiated are rigorously barred for the rest of the
day. Those *kukusiut* who accompanied the party along the
bank of the river have preceded them and, as X enters, the [201]
droning cry is raised which always heralds the appearance of
one who has been in close contact with supernatural beings.

If X is considered trustworthy, he may be allowed to go
alone to his repository, although this is only customary when
he takes a second or third prerogative. If this procedure has
been followed, X tells those present what he has seen; otherwise
his companions do so. The uninitiated listen eagerly
from the adjacent houses, wondering anxiously what is taking
place. Several *kukusiut* blow, or use bellow-whistles to increase
the awe of the hearers. Presently a herald is sent out. 575*
He goes first to the lowest house[19] of the village, then in succession 203
to those above, announcing in each that:

"Something strange has happened to the son of the chief." 796

X's name is not mentioned; if his father is not a chief the

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[19] That is, to the one farthest downstream. By always going to each house in order from bottom to top of the village the herald avoids any danger of omissions.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal."
203 At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement,
and towards nightfall goes around calling:

796 *Skinap*, *skinap*, *kukusiaot*, "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

*575 In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have,
embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative
791 of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the
796 ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a
[424] revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the
owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever-
[773] present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the
dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction
taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be trans-
[425] mitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally
happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and
sisaok. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come
forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it.
[302] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket,
decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his
[292] shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an
[237] apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating
sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike
furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep
time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3).[1] He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[1] [see category 116, p 84(C)- ANALYST]

and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non- 575*
members are told that the death was due to one of the many 766
dangers connected with the society.

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held 575*
a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled
that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable 769
on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discon- 533
tinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead 177
kukusiut, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to
prohibition of the potlatch.

THE RITUAL OF SPECIFIC DANCES

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be 575*
given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference 796*
between them that each will require a separate account, al-
though considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning
in connection with the first dance those features common to
all. The initial performer is always he who has the preroga-
tive of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the [424]
Land of the Salmon to visit *Nusqulxwaista*. Several *kukusiut*
have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should [776]
wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so.
Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the mar-
shals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does
so without conflicting with another. The first dance described
is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season.

THE DANCE OF *Noäkx̣nɩm*[14]

773
The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the
September moon is full there starts from the Land of the 824
Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Noäkx̣nɩm*, commanded by 825
a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly

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[14] Cf. Boas, p. 40.

[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien·a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await
the coming of *Ālquntām*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nebusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noākx̣nım* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, several succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[831] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels
[787] without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are
sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[626] patron was *Noākx̣nım*, but that the marshals requested him
[776] not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noākx̣nım*
is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the unini-
575 tiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
[796] the *kusiut* dances begin.

[184] It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
[424] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
slight variations, if any. In *Tcımotł* the *kusiut* who has the
[551] prerogative of seeing *Noākx̣nım* is a certain *Qoxolān·i*,[15] in
Kimsquit, *Ātuskinwasam*,[16] and in *Sıskiuł*, *Xemtnım*. Although,

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[115]
[426]
[578]

[15] Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qoxolān·i*, who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[16] Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

Although 575*
theoretically, every *kusiut* should know the origin myth of his 424 ●
prerogative, these are rarely remembered, a state of affairs 773
differing entirely from that with respect to ancestral origin myths. An ancestor of *Ätuskinwasam* is supposed to have seen *Noäkχnιm*, decorated with the tails of two eagles stuck in his hair. The following myth was obtained of the origin of *Xemtnιm*'s prerogative: [539]

In the beginning there came down to Mount *Nus·läxιm*, a small mountain on the south side of the Bella Coola River about three-quarters of a mile from the sea, *Ällilιmnälosaix*, his younger brother *Omqomkilιka*, and their sister. *Älquntäm* had given them a model house, so small that it was portable, but which could enlarge to any size at their wish. It was called *Skqwälutl*, a name they bestowed also on their sister. They brought the *sιsaok* designation, *Xemxemlaix*, with the right to perform a dance. The party, including Raven, who was like a son to *Ällilιmnälosaix*, came down from their mountain top looking for a place to settle. As people were already living at *Qomqo·ts* and *Älqäläxl*, they chose *Slιkiutl* as their home.

From this place the three could hear the beating of drums, as the people of the adjacent villages performed their *kusiut* dances and Raven determined that his companions should not lack the privileges which others enjoyed. Accordingly he flew down the fiord where he saw *Noäkχnιm*, whom he obtained as patron for *Ällilιmnälosaix*. This prerogative was embodied in the name *Xemtnιm*, which is still in use.[17]

The prerogative of seeing *Noäkχnιm* is known as *dakdak·älaix*, "The Comer," or "The Ever-Comer." It will be convenient to refer to the person who has this power as X. As already described, if he had been initiated during the preceding ceremonial season, he is now obliged to dance. In later years, if he wishes to do so, he first consults the marshals, and if they consent he begins his preparations during the summer. Among other matters, X informs the singers of his intentions and they begin to compose songs. Occasionally they re-use one from a previous year, but to do this is to admit lack of creative ability. The usual practice is to compose new tunes and to adapt to them words bearing on the proper theme, sometimes including

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796*
[424]
[533]

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[17] It will be noted that this myth is of the typical origin type, and furnishes an instance of the manner in which *kusiut* prerogatives occur in such. [539]

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

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796*

if he so desires. The *kukusiut* listen to the song, and when it is resung they join in. They practise it repeatedly, until familiar with both words and tune. This part of the ceremony lasts for about two hours. [533]

The singers, and any others who are prepared to beat time, are always provided with long, flat, thin sounding-boards to increase the din of the pounding. When the marshals decide that the song is sufficiently familiar, they tell some of the *kukusiut* to carry these boards to the lowest house of the village. They do this, and also scatter clean sand on the floor, as is customary whenever a supernatural being is to enter. The uninitiated persons within the house watch with great interest. The singers enter and take their places behind the fire, then other *kukusiut* and finally X himself; his face is unblackened, but he wears his two eagle tails in his hair and a collar of dyed cedar-bark. On his head is a thin cylindrical circlet, about four inches high, of the same material, ornamented with swan's down by the inhabitants of the villages of the upper Bella Coola valley. The collar consists of a roll of grass, entirely covered with dyed cedar-bark from which pendant tassels of the same hang down over his chest; similar ones are worn by *sisaok* dancers, except that the tassels hang down their backs. Every *kusiut* dancer wears these two ornaments, and those who have the necessary prerogative adorn themselves with an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Blankets are always worn. *Kukusiut* women wear in addition woollen pubic garments.

[292]
[534]
575*
796*
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[424]
[237]

As the singers beat out X's tune, accompanied by the voices of themselves and other *kukusiut*, he dances. Since his style is typical of all *kukusiut* except Cannibals and a few others, it will be well to digress at this point in order to describe it. X raises his arms until their upper parts are approximately the height of his shoulders, and project outwards and slightly to the front; they are bent at the elbows with the forearms vertical, thus bringing the hands opposite the top of the head. Both wrists are shaken constantly, the muscles of the lower

575*
796*
535

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 *796 535 arms being brought into play, so that the whole hands are constantly quivering without spasmodic movements. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a skilful performer, and the incessant shaking is continued without stop throughout the dance. [533] Most *kusiut* songs are in five parts, which may be described as three verses, separated by two choruses. Near the beginning of the first verse X stands up, raises his arms, shakes his fingers, then slightly bends his legs and begins to step in time to the beating of the sticks. Some dancers remain almost stationary, marking time, to use the military term, others advance in steps of an inch or so, at intervals slowly revolving sunwise.[18] Sometimes X introduces a variation by bending from side to side, in which case one hand rises above the other. If the time of the song is very slow, he sinks, bending his knees to a great extent, and advances in more lengthy strides, never ceasing to shake his hands. At each chorus the time becomes so rapid that it is impossible to move the feet in accordance with it, and then X crouches, his shaking hands the only movement. If it ● [424] [562] is a woman who is dancing—like most *kusiut* prerogatives, this one is not limited to men—the style of dancing is quite different. Keeping the upper part of each arm close to her body, the dancer extends her fore-arms, outwards, parallel to the ground, with the palms upwards. Like a man, she shakes her wrists, but few female dancers move from the spot on which they start, except perhaps to turn around, sunwise. Heralds always keep up a running fire of comments, especially when a woman is dancing, urging her not to be bashful, but to allow her breasts to shake. Some dancers have merged into one [424] prerogative rights acquired from different coastal tribes. In such cases they perform in two or more styles, each part according to one prerogative.

Kukusiut are always ready to assist one of their fellows, so that three or four friends are always willing to accompany the dancer. They stand close behind him, at frequent intervals blowing over his head the eagle down which either X, or some

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[171] [18] The Bella Coola state that the Bella Bella revolve counter-sunwise.

THE DANCE OF *Wl·a*

*575 *796 556 Although potlatches and *kusiut* dances cannot take place simultaneously in the same house, and although the former are supposedly completed before the beginning of the ceremonial season, they often overlap the lengthy preliminaries of the *Noākχnιm* dance. In such cases, when visiting the houses of the village, the *kukusiut* are careful to pass by the one in which the potlatch is going on. It often happens that foreign guests are still present when *Noākχnιm* ascends the river and their host wishes to provide entertainment for them in the shape of a spectacular *kusiut* display. This is possible if a *kusiut* with a *wl·a* prerogative is willing to have a call come to him. [424] It is probable that in every village there is at least one *kusiut* with this prerogative; in *Tcιmotl* the owner is a certain *Łukwala*,[20] in Kimsquit a woman named *Nunuxemlaix*. An ancestor of the former received his designation at the direct wish of *Älquntäm* as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*. It is unnecessary to describe the ritual in detail in both places, although certain differences must be mentioned. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X. He has ten patrons, the nine brothers [776] *Xemxemälotla*, *Xemcua*, *Omqomkilιka*, *Aimälotla*, *Aiamkilιka*, *Q̇pmcua*, *Q̇wlaxwoa*, *Kwlilias Nuskämpta*, *Älmäk·*, and their sister *Tłitcäplilän·a*.[21] These supernatural beings remain in *Nusmät·a* except when summoned below by X, or when *Tłitcäplilän·a* appears for her own purposes as already described.

If X accedes to the request of the donor of the potlatch and is willing to summon his patrons from above, one or other of them interviews the marshals, and if these acquiesce, the rite can proceed. In Bella Coola X asks the help of four *kukusiut* *575 who are termed his "Path Clearers"; no special prerogative is *796 required to perform this service. For four days X lies on the floor of his house, near the door to the back-room, while his

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[20] The rite has not been carried out in Bella Coola since the death of the former owner about 1912; the name has passed to his brother's son's son.

[21] Boas (p. 33) gives the same list of beings although in slightly different order.

[The Dance of Wila]

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and 575*
the fire. 796* The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *kukusiut* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of [532] wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.[22] On the morning of the fourth day,[23] X blackens his face with soot [302] or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *kusiut* costume. A herald then invites the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kukusiut* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.[24] As X enters, all the *kukusiut* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drone. Without delay, and without attention to the timeless thumping, X begins to dance, sunwise, around the fire, at [535] intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the [789] effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings above [787] sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

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[22] The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

[23] It is probable that X must first lie down when *Noakxnim*'s dancer reports that the canoe is at the mouth of the river.

[24] It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives. [184] [424]

[The Dance of Wila]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, suddenly stands up and cries out: 575* 796*

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you bid me." 787

The *kukusiut* women begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *kusiut* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *lsuxtämem* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above is a special prerogative; other *kukusiut* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *kusiut* has exclusive knowledge of the mat which is spread for *Omqomkilikha* when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brethren obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies. [424]

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *kusiut* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The patrons of most Cannibals are *Ālquntām*, *Sexsexpālaix*, or *Kāmai·ts*, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle, causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola consider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not scarred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest causes for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the *kusiut* society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say is the case 575* 796* 424 [981] [776] [787] [781] [171] [622]

[X's Cannibal D[illegible]ce]

575 796 among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and perform his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast. [171] [622]

[424] [184] The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in which *Kämätslaks* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kämätslaks* as X, and to use the present tense throughout. [115]

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances it is on some *qotlim* that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village. The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed *Aiisläxa*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Snitsmān-a*.[13] [787] [534] [776]

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[13] The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *kusiut* rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Thimāpilām-a*. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *kukusiut* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent elusiveness of the sound. The four travel in single file; the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be caused by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society. [688]

[The Cannibal Dance]

X, now almost sane, rushes around the house, shouting *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, while his call sounds loudly, as the whistle is pressed firmly beneath his armpit or against his stomach, tied under a belt. Often the *kukusiut* slip a rope over his shoulders to prevent him escaping again. Finally, he rushes from the house and all the *kukusiut* crowd close about him on the sidewalk without. As many as possible press upwards against his body with their hands, while they shout, *ye·*·, trying to expel the call upwards. On the fourth repetition it is supposed to have been driven forth, and in answer to the tumultuous shout of the *kukusiut*, there is heard the sound of a whistle from above. The uninitiated do not know that a *kusiut* has been dispatched with one to a mountain peak for this purpose. 575* 796* 787

The *kukusiut* now return to X's house for a meal. The first dish of food is placed before X himself, while one of the marshals addresses him and the audience in the following strain: 575* 796* [539]

Yārmaodjinaou, sātixwa·ks! Ālaits di pāxotla!
Greetings, comrades! Hail to the dreaded one [the Cannibal]![60]
Wai, pāxotlao[b] *Nuxim. Nudplaniəlsᵘdudunə.*
More, dreaded one, *Nuxim.*[61] Eat to repletion.

There is no ritual significance attached to any particular words; marshals use their own discretion as to what they say, but the above may be considered a fair example of the kind of remarks addressed to a Cannibal at his first meal. After X has started eating, the other *kukusiut* commence and the marshals deliver their usual admonitions, praising X for what he has done and urging others to emulate his example. Then presents are distributed to those who have been bitten. It is considered that a Cannibal compliments a man by taking a piece of his flesh, and that he is under obligations to the one bitten for the latter having allowed him to exercise his preroga- 575* 796* 431 424

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[60] *Pāxotla* means "The Dreaded One" or "The Fearless One." X is so called on account of the uncanny cannibalistic incubus that has taken possession of him. [787]

[b] This is the vocative form of the word.

[61] *Nuxim* was the name of the performing Cannibal on the occasion that this speech was recorded. [195]

#575 tive. Hence compensation must be given. Payment for wounds
#796 inflicted is really parallel to payments to witnesses of any other
prerogative; without their assistance X would not have been
431 able to display his right. Long ago Cannibals are said to have
●424 had teeth of such sharpness that they were able to take pieces
[779] from the bodies of their victims with ease and quickness. In more recent years, it has been customary for a person about to be bitten to cut himself with a knife so that, when the Cannibal seizes him, a simple sucking at the chosen part will bring forth blood. In view of the honour attached to being bitten, no person to whom such a proposal is made would think of refusing. As previously mentioned, Cannibals do not bite other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts, otherwise their victims may comprise any *kukusiut*.[41] Presents received by those bitten are called "Bandages." At the time of such payment gifts are usually given to all *kukusiut*, with additional compensation for the sufferers.

#575 Now that X has eaten ordinary food it is supposed that he
#796 is again normal, although special precautions must be taken for the rest of the winter since he is subject to returning fits of frenzy. Consequently, he is never allowed to be alone, but is always followed by a number of *kukusiut* whose function appears to the uninitiated to be to guard them from the Cannibal. The sight of strangers suffices to rouse him, so that when a canoe from *Tāl·io* or Kimsquit approaches, a herald bids the uninitiated conceal themselves. On their arrival X rushes to the beach, apparently in spite of his guardians' restraint, and honours several of the strangers by biting them, as he did before he was able to eat ordinary food. On such occasions he then visits every house, attended by his escort, before returning to his own. Inside each dwelling he growls, cries out *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and sometimes shakes or tears off the

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[752] [41] Every effort is made to convince the uninitiated of the severity of the wounds inflicted. For example, if a *kusiut* woman is suffering from some malady of the breast which requires an operation, a Cannibal bites her there and non-members are told that the incision, made about the same time, was caused by his teeth.

[The Cannibal Dance]

through the village announcing what has taken place. Meanwhile X, maddened by the taste of blood, dashes from the house, closely guarded by a number of *kukusiut*. Growling, he enters the lowest house of the village and, to the uninitiated there, it appears as if the restraint of his guardians is all that prevents the biting demon from breaking loose among them. This is repeated at every house in the village, and then X returns to that in which *qatlaq* is taking place, where he is guided to his usual corner and a *kusiut* throws cold water over him. Any senior *kusiut*, often one who is also a shaman, calls on those present to beat time, and the frenzied orchestra of sticks sounds forth. X remains quiet and more water is thrown over him. This pounding of sticks is four times repeated, and after each more water is thrown over the Cannibal, until at last his temporary fit of frenzy is stilled. Then the *kukusiut* eat in comfort and leave. It must be remembered that the uninitiated hear the beating of sticks from adjacent houses, and their awe is perhaps increased by the fact that they cannot actually see what is taking place. 575* 796* [781]

This liability to madness lasts throughout the ceremonial season, effectively suppressing any venturesome uninitiated, and at the same time serving as a bond of union among the *kukusiut* themselves, who must sink individual differences of opinion in face of the absolute necessity of upholding X's prestige. A Cannibal novice can likewise become frenzied at any time during the summer following his initiation. [626]

The Cannibal dance entails a considerable amount of physical and mental effort, while if X bites many individuals, as he likes to do as a means of demonstrating his prerogative, he is forced to expend a considerable amount of goods as "Bandages." These two factors often deter a man from performing this dance. A Cannibal who has just been initiated as a *kusiut* at once begins to bite, and is carried away to the upper regions. He is required, moreover, to give his ceremony the following winter, like any other novice. During the summer he generally remains hidden within his house, and when he goes 575* 796* 556 [431] [424] songs are sung, all that are needed when a Cannibal does not go to the land above. 575* 796*

On the following day, *qotlm*, the masks are manufactured and the ritual proceeds in the normal manner. 787 In the evening the uninitiated are invited to watch the dances, at which X is the first to perform, lengthening his face and protruding his lips to their greatest extent in order to frighten his beholders.

The ritual of the next evening, *nuhusam*, corresponds to the usual pattern. Before the entry of the uninitiated, X has concealed himself so that nothing can detract from their awe at sight of the masked figures. *Älquntäm* stands in state behind the fire, sometimes announcing his own name, while *Äno'likwalsaix* moves to and fro, adding to the solemnity of the occasion with her explanations, echoed by the heralds. *Älqotlees*, represented with blood-stained lips, moves around the fire, restrained by the three Holders, and the audience is told that this is how they act in the land above. When the guests have gazed sufficiently on these marvels they are sent away, and the masks are burnt in the usual manner, accompanied by the gentle singing of one of X's songs. Late at night a number of *kukusiut* go with X to the sidewalk outside his house, where they expel his call by pressing upwards with their hands against his stomach and calling *hoip*.

For the rest of the winter X conducts himself in the manner of any *kusiut* who has danced. 575* 796*

Although similar in outlines, the prerogatives enjoyed by Cannibals differ so considerably that no clear picture of the [424] rites can be obtained without detailed descriptions of several. The following is an account of a dance carried out by *Lululimut*, a biting Cannibal of *Nusqalst*. [115] It was obtained from one of the marshals who, of course, understood the details of every performance. The origin of the name is unknown, although the informant believed that it had been created in this world by the chiefs in consequence of the manner in which a shaman ancestor of the dancer had been in the habit of biting people

[The Cannibal Dance]

* 575 * 796 his song, which they now proceed to sing as though they had obtained it from X in his ravings; they have, of course, composed it themselves in advance. The words describe the experiences of X in the regions aloft. When the song has been [431] practised, food, and later presents as "bandages" for the wounds, are distributed. Other gifts are often ~~given to~~ everyone, irrespective of whether or not the recipient has been bitten. A marshal functions as usual; then the people disperse.

Presently as night falls and the people are preparing for sleep, X goes outside with a number of *kukusiut* followers. On the sidewalk the singers, a number of *kukusiut* women, and men with drums have assembled. X begins his high pitched call of *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, as if longing for meat; the whistle sounds at intervals and the singers begin their song with the women joining in. When the melody has ended, the party moves to a position outside another house where the same ceremony is repeated. X suddenly becomes frenzied, rushes madly from place to place·, his *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·* resounds, and he dashes into a dwelling, growling ferociously. The musicians pay no attention to his actions, but complete their singing of the same song outside every house. When this has been finished, the *kukusiut* gather in X's home to make him sufficiently heavy so that he can lie down. This is done by [424] [791] calling upon these individuals who have the prerogative of using the crystals at initiation. They come forward and, with wild gyrations, extract them from their stomachs and insert them into X's body through his ears, thus partially deafening him so that he can relax. The people disperse when this has been accomplished. As usual, the heralds have informed those living in the other houses of what has been taking place.

The next morning the *kukusiut* construct a strong platform behind the fire on which X is supposed to rest for the next four days. In practice he can do almost anything he likes, provided that he is not seen by the uninitiated. The crystals pressed into his ears deafen him to small noises, but if he hears people talking loudly together, he at once becomes excited and rushes

* 575 placing their hands against his mouth and neck and pressing
downwards to the chest as if forcing some object from his
* 796 throat, constantly uttering the cry of *hoip*. When the ob-
787 stacle has been driven down, X is offered his first food, choice morsels of dried salmon. He eats some of this but bites a small piece from the spoon, and does the same with the dish in which water is held to his lips. The assistance of a shaman is often required to feed the Cannibal.

The powers of, and restrictions upon, X for the remainder of the ceremonial season are identical with those already described. At the end of the period, however, the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to rid him of his *sqiols* which, it will be remembered, had been forced from his mouth down into his chest. By means of a violent repetition of *hoip* and pressing with the hands, this is extracted and cast into another *kusiut*. As soon as the latter has received it, he acts as if he had become a Cannibal. Dashing out, he enters each house in turn, growling and calling out *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and at intervals ripping up the planking from the floor or pulling off boards from the wall. Then the substitute re-enters X's house, where the power is returned to X himself, who, this done, rushes to every dwelling and repeats the growling and destruction. Though the uninitiated realize that two different indi-
[781] viduals have appeared as Cannibals, they are too awe-stricken to feel anything but wonder. When he gets back to his own house, X is surrounded by the *kukusiut* who call out *hoip*, in unison four times, while as many of them as can find places press upwards with their hands against his neck and throat to expel the *sqiols*. This succeeds in sending back X's power to the mysterious regions above whence it came. While most of the *kukusiut* beat time vigorously, a number of them pull down the platform and cast it into the fire. They then have a meal, while a marshal gives weighty advice about the care that must be exercised during the coming year in guarding their sacred secrets from the uninitiated; whereupon they all disperse.

[184] The chief contrasts between this rite and the one previously
[424]

described for Kimsquit are the lack of the cannibalistic incubus 575*
and the presence of the *sqiols*. It must be emphasized that 796*
these are differences of individual prerogative alone; many 787
Kimsquit Cannibals perform with *sqiols*, many Bella Coola 184
with incubus.

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the 424
general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details,
it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at
the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed
upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors
of omission have been committed in consequence; these may
account for some of the discrepancies, but the most potent
factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives,
and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual.
The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the
variations possible in this dance; others will become evident
in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who
can bite the living.

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating 575*
Cannibal, *Olxän·i*, of *Snxl*. Long, long ago one of the ances- 796*
tors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs.
In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not 787
profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered 773
the beholder so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then
carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and
was assisted by several supernatural beings. The first *Olxän·i* [424]
was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat
dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his
descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to tell his 575*
destined heir the details of the experiences which are to be 796*
embodied in his songs, his successor can obtain these from the
singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on
previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Olxän·i*, is
beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved rocks behind [778]
the village of *Snxl* (see Plate 6).[1] It is said that many years
ago some reckless uninitiated placed poles as levers beneath

[1] [see category 116, p. 84 (F) - ANALYST]

*575 over him,"[44] followed by the usual immersion in the river. X
*796 goes to every house, then returns to his own where another
song, describing his experiences aloft, is rehearsed. In the
787 evening the *kukusiut* assemble once more and tie on X a long, tail-like appendage of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. Then a shaman gives him food, and at once he runs to the lowest house in the village. He enters the doorway and calls out:

"I can smell."

This announcement is repeated in every house, signifying that the Cannibal can again appreciate ordinary food.

X spends four more days on his platform, leaving it only when infuriated by the snarling of dogs. On the fourth evening the *kukusiut* assemble once more to learn a song of the usual Cannibal type, and to listen to admonitions from the marshals.

For four days longer X is secluded on his platform. In the evening the *kukusiut* gather to practise another song, but this time X dances, while the uninitiated watch with fear and wonder from the doorway. After their departure, X's *sqiols* is
● [424] extracted. In this particular dance, its removal is the prerogative of a certain *kusiut* who presses his hands along the Cannibal's collar-bone, forcing the malignant muzzle-like power upward and outward. Sometimes his first meal is delayed until this has been done.

*575 This concludes X's dance, though he must obey the same
*796 restrictions as other Cannibals for the rest of the ceremonial season and, if he is a novice, for the following summer as well.

[424] Other Cannibals have the prerogative of eating raw salmon. Since these are unobtainable during the winter, carpenters construct imitations consisting of skins of trout stretched over wooden frames filled with the flesh of deer, dogs, or trout. The resemblance is increased by a mechanical device which wiggles the tail. The Cannibal rips these apart with his teeth so that the uninitiated see the meat inside, and readily assume that they are real salmon, while their wonder is increased in view of the difficulty, or impossibility, of obtaining fresh fish in mid-winter.

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[44] This expels his call.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Cannibal Dance]

The most feared of all Cannibals are those who have the unusual prerogative of eating corpses. At present (1922), there is only one man with this right, whereas at least seven can bite the living. His prerogative was recently obtained from the people of Rivers' Inlet, although the ritualistic devouring of corpses was well known to the Bella Coola in former days. All informants agreed, however, that the actual eating of a body was practically unknown.[19] Even when one was provided and the Cannibal dragged it from house to house, accompanied by an escort of *kukusiut*, though he sank his teeth into the flesh and pulled forth morsels of the carcass, he invariably disposed of them as soon as he was out of sight of the uninitiated, as in the case of the dog. Of course, blood and small pieces of flesh must have been swallowed inadvertently, but the rite was always essentially ritualistic, not real. More often, the "corpse" consisted of a wooden frame-work, shaped like a human body, and covered with the scraped skins of deer or dogs. The interior was filled with the flesh of an animal, and the whole buried in the graveyard until the meat had become foul. The uninitiated, from a distance, watched the exhuming of this object and concluded that it really was a long-buried body. Fear prevented them from making a close inspection, so that the defects of the imitation were not apparent. The frames were kept hidden from year to year; an inquisitive non-member who chanced to stumble upon one would have to be initiated or die. 575* 796* [424] [177] [688]

On account of the long time that has elapsed since a complete corpse-eating Cannibal dance was carried out, it was found impossible to obtain a detailed account of the ritual. This deficiency is unimportant since all informants agreed that it closely resembled other Cannibal dances.

Like other Cannibals, one who has the prerogative of eating dead human flesh can perform as often as he desires, subject only to the approval of the marshals, who have no hesitation [424] [787] [266]

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[19] Apart from this ceremonial eating, no trace of cannibalism was found among the Bella Coola.

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 in banning the rite if they do not think the dancer will be able
*796 to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated
[424] are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes
to the graveyard and exhumes one of the meat-filled frames
previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he
sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then
taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated
peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance.
He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks
his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts
are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes
to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long
[824] period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of
emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of
water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Cannibal
ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is
expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a
[535] corpse-eater constantly bends both hands towards the floor in
front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy
object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this,
only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild
expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this represents
the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his
mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He
has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his incubus
fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently
[532] he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see
Plate 7),[1] symbolic of the corpses devoured.

*575 Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends
*796 to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,[10]
567 but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge
or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a
648 foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out
blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

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[10] Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for consistency.

[1] [see category 116, p 164(A) - ANALYST]

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type of rivalry can be carried out only during the ceremonial season.

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After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that one or more years must elapse before his return. During this time he can be seen only by *kukusiut*. The writer was told of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, *Xekalus*, who was virtually secluded for eight years, since a stone was cast at his feet every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat. [123] This name had been dormant for a number of years until conferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

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One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be described, namely, that of biting oneself. This is even less common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two individuals, *Qo̯lliaotımx̣* of *Stuıx* and *Snınıq* of the Kimsquit River. The following account of the origin of the latter's prerogative was obtained:

> Many years ago, soon after the first people came to this world, the ritual of the *kusiut* dances was much more exacting than it is at present. At that time the inhabitants of the earth were still endowed with such semi-supernatural powers that they were able to perform rites that people of the present day can represent only with the aid of carpenters' devices. There was then living in one of the villages on the Kimsquit River a certain *Snınıq* who had the prerogative of biting himself. He once went hunting on one of the mountains, and when he failed to return the people were convinced that he had eaten so heartily of his own flesh that he had died. Although search was made for his body, it was not until the following year that a professional hunter found the skeleton. From the position of the bones it was judged that their conclusion was correct: he had killed himself by eating too much of his own flesh. The chiefs and other influential *kukusiut* held a meeting at which it was decided that henceforth *kusiut* dances would only be acted, not carried out in reality. The following winter the name and prerogative were transmitted to the son of the dead man, who bit himself, but not sufficiently deeply to cause serious injury.

In the course of generations, *Snɩnq* has combined with his 575*
self-anthropophagic prerogative that of eating dogs. As al- 796*
ready mentioned, such a merging of rights, obtained from
different ancestors, is by no means uncommon. The following [424]
account of the manner in which he carries out (or carried out,
for the dance has not been performed for a number of years)
his rite was obtained from one of the Kimsquit marshals. [115]
Many details are omitted which have been fully described in
former Cannibal dances. It will be convenient to refer to
Snɩnq as X.

As with other Cannibals, when the call comes to X he [787]
begins to cry out and the uninitiated are expelled from his house, but not before they have seen him sink his teeth into his own arm, and apparently inflict a serious wound. In reality the Cannibal usually cuts himself in anticipation, so that the application of his teeth merely serves to reopen the incision and cause the blood to flow freely. Dogs are given to X, as to other dog-eating Cannibals, and he is escorted to every house, so that the uninitiated may stare with awe upon his blood-stained body and dripping jaws. Later, when he and the *kukusiut* have returned to the Cannibal's home, a herald goes to every house, announcing that his fellows are going to fasten X. The rope used in this particular rite is long and thin, with a small loop in the centre for his neck. It is forced upon X with the usual struggling, and again the herald makes his round, announcing:

"We are measuring his arms for cords of dyed and undyed cedar-bark."

These too are placed upon him, and the *kukusiut* march X, pinioned, to every house, while he growls and gives every indication of being half mad with anger at his bonds. He is taken back to his own house and at intervals throughout the day a herald informs all in the village of the number of dogs he has eaten, and of the number of wounds he has inflicted upon himself.

That night X eludes his captors and is carried away to the

[the Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. 575*
Five or six men are waiting for X with these, and as he enters 796*
his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial
sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once
visits every house. The *kukusiut* are still with him, but need
not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy.
The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril
from among them. Later in the day *kukusiut* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the
Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X,
the later sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he
observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those
described for other Cannibals.

Snɩnq's patron is a *snɩnq* of the Mountain which became [776]
petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a [778]
spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing
the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons [757]
suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by
Qołliaołɩmx̣, though it is said to resemble the one just described
in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of [424] ●
one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the repository [787]
of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the [778]
old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The writer was a spectator when the present 575*
Qołliaołɩmx̣ gave his dance in January, 1924, but the rite was 796*
performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be
learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar- 178
bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container
of red paint. Uttering his cry of *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his
arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic
representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red
smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

*575 in a flesh-coloured bathing-suit, imitating the nakedness of
*796 earlier years. The writer was talking to one of the marshals,
178 a very old man, and remarked how different the present rites
must appear to him.

"Yes," replied the old man. "But after all, the change is not so great. In former years we imitated what the supernatural beings did, now we imitate what our fathers did."

Many ethnologists, acquainted with the elaborate rituals carried out on the coast early in this century, have expressed surprise at the rapidity with which these have dwindled to mere shadows. The writer believes that one factor for the Bella Coola decline in ritual, is the realization that the rites are imitative, and that accordingly their significance need not be lost when further imitation is added.

*575 Further research would undoubtedly have added particu-
*796 lars of the manner in which other Cannibals carried out their
rites, but to obtain the full details of all would have been detrimental to other types of investigation; it is believed that the above descriptions are typical. Before passing to other dances, a few general remarks on the Cannibal ritual may prove useful.

*575 In view of the arduous character of the dance, and the
*796 necessity for impressing the uninitiated with the great power
●424 of the Cannibals, the marshals usually prohibit a man from
[562] acting unless he is physically strong. Rarely, however, a
woman is allowed to be a Cannibal if she has the necessary prerogative, but usually only if she is the last survivor of her family. In such cases the shorter rite is the more common.

[538] As before stated, *kusiut* origin myths are supposed to be
remembered, but in practice few *kukusiut* know the history of
[173] their prerogatives. The process of forgetting has undoubtedly
increased in the last few years, but the writer feels confident that they were never maintained with the same care as origin myths connected with the first people.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Cannibal Dance]

myths connected with the first people. The following tale 000 575*
explains the reputed genesis of the biting prerogative embodied 796*
in the name *Nunuqwalaiuts*.

Many years ago, a number of lads were playing near the village of 424 ●
Snulle·tl when they were alarmed by the howling of a wolf and ran back 539
to their homes. Next day the sound was repeated, and again they discontinued their play in fear. The third day the same thing happened, while on the fourth the boys not only heard the howling, but saw an enormous white wolf on the mountain above them. Fascinated, they forgot to flee, even when the animal drew near with phenomenal rapidity. It rushed up to a lad named *Nunuqwalaiuts*, and vanished. At once he became mad and ran to and fro, biting people; the beast had entered into him, and he had become a Cannibal.

His frightened comrades attempted to restrain and confine the lad, but they could not prevent him from escaping at times and biting people. That night he vanished from their sight, though they knew he had gone aloft because they heard his growling as he ascended. For two months he was absent, then suddenly reappeared among them, even wilder and hungrier than before, while his whole appearance had altered owing to the loss of his hair and emaciation. Again the people endeavoured to restrain him, but *Nunuqwalaiuts* had demoniac strength and could not be tied down. That evening a shaman was called upon, and he used the frenzied beating of sticks in hopes of curing the lunatic, for such he appeared to be. To the amazement of all, in this way he succeeded in expelling the head of a wolf, the cause of *Nunuqwalaiuts*'s anthropophagous tendencies. Thus restored to sanity, he told of what he had seen in the land above, whither he had been carried.[61] Some time after the return of *Nunuqwalaiuts* it was discovered that the repository of his name was behind a waterfall near *Snulle·tl*.

Another myth explains the origin of the dog-eating prerogative embodied in the name *Hai·alakila*. Long, long ago, soon after the first people had reached this earth, a chief of that name lived in Bella Coola. One day his slave, *Qälsmus*, set out to hunt ducks which were resting on a small pond near the base of the mountains on the south shore of the Bella Coola River, not far from its mouth. Before reaching his destination he heard many people beating time with sticks and, judging that the noise could not have been caused by mortals, returned to tell his master. *Hai·alakila* at once set off for the spot, taking his slave with

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[61] Since that time the *kukusiut* have imitated this rite with the assistance of skilled carpenters, and have been able to deceive the uninitiated.

*575 him as guide. Both heard the beating, and soon saw a pack of supernatural wolves eating dog-flesh. The men were able to steal away without being observed and *Hai·alakila* told *Q̣älsmus* to say nothing about what they had seen. A little later he gave a dance in which he wore a wolf's mask and pretended to eat dog-flesh. His neighbours, ignorant of the vision by which this dance had been inspired, were tremendously impressed.
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Another exploit of *Hai·alakila* and *Q̣älsmus* may here be recorded, although it is unconnected with the Cannibal dance.

One night when they were spearing fish, a forest suddenly arose before them. *Q̣älsmus*, startled and terrified, began to cry, but *Hai·alakila* quieted him.

"I am master here," he said. "We are in this adventure together and your task is to keep quiet."

Then a house appeared before them from the depths of the ocean. It was really a *sḳämtsk*, with its ferocious mouth as doorway, and though *Hai·alakila* naturally feared to enter, he climbed to the roof, so that he could gaze within through what corresponded to a smoke-vent. The house was filled with valuables of all kinds, guarded only by gulls. *Hai·alakila* reached inside with his pole, hooked forth one object after another and swung each across to his slave on the mainland to hide in a tree. Unfortunately, a canoe happened to draw near, whereupon the house slowly sank back into the depths.

*575 Mention might here be made of a *Stuux* repository, said to be unique in Bella Coola, that contains five Cannibal names. It is in the form of a human being with a tail, kneeling and bent forward so that hands and head touch the ground. A repository is at each point of contact. The names are:
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Q̣itlia, the head of the creature; *Ānuximän·a*, the left hand; *Sinuximätl*, the right hand; *Ālximän·a*, the left foot; *Xuximän·a*, the right foot; *Ālquntäm*, the tail.

In this repository there lives a *mätsqus* with a copper lining to its mouth.

*575 It will be seen that these myths help but little to explain the *kusiut* society, or even the origin of the Cannibal dances; they appear to be only rationalizations attempting to account for established customs. For this reason they have been inserted after a description of the Cannibal dance.
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Several Bella Coola were questioned concerning the Can- 575*
nibal spirit which Boas has described for the Kwakiutl. Some 796*
had never heard of such a creature, others had vague knowl- 776
edge concerning it, and two men were able to give it a name.
The one called it *Bäxbäxqwanälociwa*, the other *Bäxbäxqwaiwa*. [171]
All informants agreed that this creature was not a part of the
Cannibal rites of Bella Coola and one man suggested that the
cannibalistic incubus rendered it unnecessary. The Bella
Coola believe that this Cannibal spirit is used in Bella Bella. [171]
During 1923 there came to Bella Coola an old Kimsquit Indian
who had left his home many years ago and had since been
living at Smith Inlet(?). With him came his son, a grown
man, who had inherited from his mother a Kwakiutl Cannibal [428]
prerogative which he displayed in the winter of 1923-4. After 424
the dancer had, theoretically, returned from the regions above,
a large masked figure representing *Bäxbäxqwaiwa* entered
through the front-door. As the singers beat time, it hopped
to and fro, up and down, with snapping beak. The Bella
Coola were intensely interested, and one had only to listen to
their remarks when wondering what it might be, to be convinced that the Cannibal spirit is a strange concept to them.
The most frequent hypothesis was that it was a *haohao*, since
the masked figure did resemble this supernatural bird. The
Bella Coola greatly admired the dance, and were by no means [186]
ashamed to confess their inferiority as dancers to the Kwakiutl. [171]
After the disappearance of the masked figure, the singers sang
the Cannibal's song and he danced in normal fashion, which
was commented upon as another difference in custom.

THE SCRATCH DANCE

Only less awe-inspiring than the Cannibal dance is the 575*
Scratch dance. Those *kukusiut* who have this prerogative are 424
able to scratch the bodies of their fellows, so that long, bloody [796]*
weals result. The privileges and restrictions of Scratchers
are closely akin to those of Cannibals, as the following
points show:

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 ●424 They[1] do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do most *kukusiut.*

[302] [787] [533] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely of their patrons.

On visiting a house where a *qotlm* or *nebusam* is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

[787] They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[578] They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[554] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. [776] The patron of every Scratcher is *Sno'olxults Älquntäm*, one of the sons of *Älquntäm*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

*575 *796 [424] The following account of the ritual was obtained from one of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher, *Äluslenaix*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Äluslenaix* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

[1] [i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Scratch Dance]

his call, and when this has been settled, he informs those *kukusiut* whom he plans to honour by scratching. Since each will have to be recompensed for allowing X to display his prerogative, their number depends on X's wealth. Early in the morning of the day chosen, which is always immediately after the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, the call comes, and X gives a low hoot. At once he starts wildly rushing around and scratching, so that the uninitiated are only too willing to flee from his terrifying presence. Throughout the day X is escorted by a number of *kukusiut* to every house, where he rages around the fire, throwing his arms to and fro in an infuriated manner, sometimes scratching one of his fellows, but more often merely acting as if he desired to do so. The uninitiated hide within the bedrooms, greatly impressed by what they see if they dare to look forth. 575 796 [424]

Towards evening the *kukusiut* are summoned to X's house, where a dramatic representation, into which the members fully enter, is made of binding him as if he were a wild animal or a lunatic. A rope is stretched around the fire, held by the *kukusiut*, with X inside. He pretends to be trying to escape, while the rope-holders bend down and move around to hold him within their bonds. Meanwhile a shaman, or some senior *kusiut*, leads a frenzied beating of sticks which is four times repeated, to cure the madness. [757] A *kusiut* then grasps the Scratcher's face and moves his mouth four times, to make sure that his jaws can move properly; the meaning of this is unknown. X now takes one of the beating-sticks and sits down among the singers as if about to teach them both tune and words of a song describing his knowledge of the land above, derived from his call. For a few moments he beats sanely, and appears to speak in a rational manner, but soon he goes off in a wild frenzy of senseless pounding. *Hoip, hoip*, cry the *kukusiut* to soothe him. After this has been several times repeated, the singers announce that they have learnt X's song, [533] though of course, they have composed one themselves in readiness for the occasion. They now sing it; the audience listens,

[The Scratch Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four 575*
days. 796*

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the [834]
ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded -
within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, [828]
believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *kusiut* dance, where his latent madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Tāl·io* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always saves goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year.

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indi- [551]
cative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess.

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances 575*
cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the 796*
Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these 424 ●
three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members [781]
of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but
similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic [554]
association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the
Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share [302]
with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not black- [533]
ening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land [264]

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 *796 [424] [533] [264] above; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the first food at ritual meals; of paying those on whom they exercise their prerogative, and of liability to frenzy on arrival of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed, lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice, for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Scratchers, or Cannibals.

*575 *796 424 539 In view of the similarity of this rite to those already described, no effort was made to collect full details. Different Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those already illustrated. The following is an account of the manner in which the Breaker, *Syek* of *Snuləli*, performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the present tense, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Syek* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of *Snull-ul*. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could themselves initiate *kusiut* dances, and the bridegroom determined to do so in honour of the event. He chose to imitate the actions of *Sănollpəmuləlts Ălquntăm*, one of *Ălquntăm*'s sons, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was sent down to this world.[illegible] When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the man began to hurl stones around; one of them ricochetted from a box, struck his bride and killed her. This unforeseen accident solved the question of his name, as by universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Syek*, "He of the Faulty Aim."

Since that time a law has been enforced that no Breaker may throw a rock except ceremonially during his dance, and the marshals punish one who disobeys this injunction. If a Breaker is in the forest with a number of *kukusiut*, it does not matter if he fails to uphold this tradition; the essential is that the uninitiated do not see him cast a stone, even at a yelping dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola. [231]

*575 *796 When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of the marshals in the usual manner. He also arranges with *kukusiut* to have boxes and other wooden objects placed within

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[776] [illegible] This being is also called *Nuskwamucwakum*, "The Cherished One."

[The Breaker Dance]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As 575*
soon as the call comes, X cries out, begins to throw stones at 796*
these objects, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. X is
usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he casts [787]
more rocks, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must indeed be animated by a strange power. This being *lsutāmem*, 575*
the *kukusiut* gather in X's house during the evening to learn 796*
and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a
novice, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which 533
originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his patron and the land above. All Breakers do not have *Sānollχ̣mulelis Ālquntām* as patron; some have *Snukilmāls*, a supernatural being who causes wealth to curl up and come to him. The chorus is the same as for Scratchers, the meaningless words, *'aii, 'aii*. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers of all coastal tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished from those of Scratchers only by the words. With the food, 575*
presents are given to recompense those on whom X has dis- 796*
played his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been
broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are [431]
destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to [424]
exhibit their right.

Next morning, *nusiutālsap*, X again becomes frenzied and rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of 575*
kukusiut are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When mem- 796*
bers of the society gather in the evening the songs are prac- 532
tised, and the making of the masks allotted. One of these is 424
of *Sānollχ̣mulelis Ālquntām*, four are of Breakers in the land 776
above,[illegible] four of supernatural beings who sing there for the
supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Ānu'likwo-* [illegible]

[illegible] The relation of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Breaker Dance]

# 575 *lsais.* X is one of the few *kukusiut* having the prerogative of
# 796 using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes
[424] in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *gatlow* and *nalacam* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their
[424] exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous
[554] prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the unini-
[787] tiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely
[828] alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukusiut* make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *gatlow* or the preliminaries of *nalacam*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

# 575 When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nalacam*
# 796 evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked singers, of *Sänolhyumalälz Älquntäm*, and of the four super-
781 natural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukusiut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The *Ausni Anotlikwalcais* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukusiut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most
[252] houses contain a number of stones which have been used in
[578] boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukusiut*
[635] who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

[The Breaker Dance]

* 575 strate their own superiority; they had paid those who had wit-
* 796 nessed their prerogative, whereas the Bella Bella Breaker had
648 merely cast a stone without solemnity. Speeches were made,
688 and it was decided that henceforth instead of waging true war
[921] in case of an error in ritual, it would be sufficient if the Breakers exacted punishment by destroying property. That is the explanation offered by this man as to why foreign war-parties have not more frequently upheld the law by raiding. As before stated, the writer is uncertain whether such beliefs are generally held by the Bella Coola and of course the historical accuracy of the information is still more doubtful.

THE *Kusiotem* DANCES

* 575 More awe-inspiring, though less terrifying, than the Can-
* 796 nibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances, are the *kusiotem* dances.
● 424 In these the dancer undergoes mutilation and death, but his
[775] supernatural power enables him to return to life—at least so it appears to the credulous non-members. The five dances known as *kusiotem* are:

The Stomach-Cutting Dance;
The Beheading Dance;
The Drowning Dance;
The Burning Dance; and
The Swallowing of Hot Stones Dance.

Each of these comprises a distinct ceremonial of great complexity, but only one prerogative is required. That is, a man who has the *kusiotem* right may allow his stomach to be cut one year, and when he next performs will choose to display his ability to swallow hot stones. In this respect, it differs from all other *kusiut* ceremonies. Although a *kusiotem* dancer is entitled to exercise his privilege as often as he wishes, provided his marshals consent, the rite is so difficult that it is rarely carried out.

[775] As far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola of today have no

elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *kusiotem* dances. 575*
They believe that they are performed by the supernatural 796*
beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Alquntäm* and 424
his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send
them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain [779]
Oniswalicus of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving [551]
kusiotem dances has since been possessed by the owner of that
name.[*] The following accounts are of the dances performed
by a certain *Oniswalicus* whom it will be convenient to
call X. He has six repositories, one for each section of [778]
his dance.

As with all other *kusiut* prerogatives, the impetus to dance
can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural patron, [776]
the being *Kulsikäkmidjut* in the case of all *kusiotem* dancers.
The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and
moreover that for *kusiotem* dances it can take place only when
the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on [821]
the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *kusiotem*
dances should take place after the winter solstice, although
this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative
the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his
wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret
meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger
of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the
marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the
would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent 575*
has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, 796*
laying in supplies of food and asking his *kusiut* friends
for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do
all other *kukusiut*, though his secret mental excitement increases
as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact
time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a prelimi-

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[*] There are other *kusiotem* dancers in Bella Coola.

575 number of puppets is always made. Certain *kukusiut*, known
796 as *ánayax*, have in connection with their dance prerogative, the
592 ability to summon and display supernatural objects in the
[424] form of small puppets. These are sometimes patrons, more often
not, and include not only beings having human form, but
[787] snakes, hummingbirds, and other creatures. By calling his
being, an *ánayax* receives strength which can be transmitted
to someone else—so the uninitiated believe—by passing it into
the recipient's body. *Non-members are told that* X *suffers*
[775] death from which he is resurrected by his own powers, rein-
[787] forced by those passed into him by other members of the
society through the transference of their puppets. The most
potent "patron-puppet" is the giant toad. It is difficult for a
[781] white man to understand how intelligent people, as are many
of the uninitiated, can be deluded into believing that the somewhat rudely carved wooden figures which they see moving before them are supernatural beings. Emphasis must again be laid on the awe, mystery, and power of the ceremonies in the eyes of those who do not understand them, and the very great skill shown by the carpenters in making use of hidden strings, trap-doors, and other devices to increase the dramatic effect. Puppets are guarded very carefully by their owners and are usually hidden in some cleft of the mountains. A well-constructed one is used when necessary for many years.

575 Other preparations must be made for the stomach-cutting.
796 As in all other *kusiut* dances, deception is practised and X is
not really disembowelled. Instead, a wooden, or copper, frame is made to shield his stomach; over this is arranged the skin of a deer or a dog, cut to cover him from chest to thighs, with even the navel imitated. This camouflage is held in place by his breech-cloth and by a strap passing around his chest. He wears a blanket which conceals most of the fastenings so that the artifice is not noticeable in the dim light of the house. The chief difficulty is to find a dog with skin the same colour as X's.
[281] Many animals are killed, and the fur removed by immersion
in boiling water, but sometimes half the dogs of a village must

to discuss the event and lay plans for the future, but as it is 575*
now daylight they too soon retire to sleep. 796*

The *kusiotem* ceremony resembles a double *kusiut* rite since
it comprises two sets of four days and nights. The one on which
X's stomach was cut is considered to be *lsuxtämem*. Accord-
ingly, the heralds call the *kukusiut* to X's house early on the
afternoon following and the regular ritual of *nusiutälsap* takes
place. Some of the younger men are at once sent to the forest
for wood to be made into more masks but, with the love of
drama typical of the *kukusiut*, it is assumed that X himself is
too feeble to accompany them. Accordingly his power is trans-
ferred to a substitute by means of the frenzied beating of sticks
and repeated cries of *koip*. On the return of the wood col-
lectors, who carry their burdens as usual on tump-lines and set [482]
them down carefully, this power is restored to X in the same
manner. The work of making the masks is now allotted. For
kusiotem, and several other *kusiut* rites hereafter to be de- [424] ●
scribed, the dancer is entitled to show as many of the beings in [556]
the Bella Coola pantheon as he desires. Consequently if X is
wealthy and wishes to have a spectacular *nebusam*, he orders
many masks. Then the *kukusiut* practise a number of songs
composed by the singers. One, or sometimes two, prepared for
X is couched as if he himself were telling what he had seen in
the upper regions. They describe *Älquntäm*, his messenger
Oqolikts Älquntäm, and, especially *Kutslkäkmidjut*, the super- [776]
natural being whose stomach is periodically cut in the land
above. It is he who has entered X and impelled him to suffer [787]
the same mutilation from the effects of which *Snitsmän·a* has
restored him. X himself usually remains concealed behind the
matting in the rear part of the house, but sometimes, if he
wishes to practise what he will perform the next night, he
comes forward for a rehearsal. He still pretends to be very ill,
and instead of dancing in the usual violent manner, totters
around the fire, supported by several assistants, while he feebly
shakes his hands. The women drone, and the uninitiated in the
other houses realize that more exciting events are impending.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

and must never gossip or mingle casually with the outsiders. 575*
In addition to a band of dyed cedar-bark on his head he wears 796*
one around his stomach.

A number of years ago, when the influence of the white man 575*
had become strong enough to undermine the old ritual, a Bella 796*
Coola *kusiotem* dancer, instead of remaining in seclusion after
the dance, ran away to Kimsquit where lived a young woman 688
with whom he was in love. In the old days this would have led 177
to punishment by a third tribe. When the offender wished to return to Bella Coola he was afraid of the wrath of the marshals, but plucked up courage to come back after several months. The marshals seized him and scratched his stomach with a metal nail so that the uninitiated, seeing the wound, might be led to believe that the man had been severely cut. Periodically the scabs were pulled off to re-enflame the injury and make it appear that a deep gash was slowly healing. The offender, of course, could not protest, since he was a *kusiut* who had broken the law and was fortunate in escaping so lightly.

The Beheading Dance

Another of the dramatic dances which can be performed by 575*
a *kusiotem* is that of having his head pulled off. Like the 796*
Stomach-Cutting dance, it is the prerogative of a Kimsquit
man named *Onixwaltcua*. He carried out the rite a few years [424]
after he had performed the one just described. The main points of ritual being identical for all *kusiotem* dances, minor points already recorded can be omitted. As before, it will be convenient to term *Onixwaltcua* X, and to describe the dance in the present tense.

Early in the summer X informs one of the marshals of his desire to have his head pulled off the following winter. The one consulted discusses the matter with his fellows; in this case no objections were raised as *Onixwaltcua* had already performed a *kusiotem* dance and it was felt that he was reliable.
As soon as permission is granted, the would-be dancer asks the [532]
best carpenters to meet him in a lonely place in the forest and

procession of supernatural beings according to X's choice. 575*
The proceedings terminate in the same way as those described 796*
in the Stomach-Cutting dance.

X must obey the customary restrictions on his movements for the rest of the ceremonial season, and also remain in partial concealment for the summer following. The fiction circulated is that he is still suffering from the after-effects of decapitation. He is legally entitled to perform any other *kusiotem* rite during [424]
the following winter, but it is most unusual for a man to do so on successive seasons.

The Drowning Dance

In a third *kusiotem* dance the performer appears to drown. X carried out this ceremonial during the third winter after his decapitation, but as usual it will be convenient to describe the ritual in the present tense.

During the summer, as for the Beheading dance, he obtains permission from the marshals. With the latter present, he then arranges with the singers and the carpenters to compose songs of the usual *kusiotem* type and to prepare a mask. Since X had preserved the mask used at the time of his decapitation, it was not necessary to have one made. The intending dancer [415]
borrows from a *kusiut* friend one of the large boxes used for [252]
boiling olachen and this is taken in secret to some lonely spot in the forest. The carpenters cut a hole in the bottom and smear the edges with grease and dirt to conceal the aperture; skin hinges are fastened to one side of the movable section so that it can be opened easily and quickly. They also make a wooden framework the size and shape of X's body, to which the portrait-mask is attached to give a realistic representation of the man himself.

Nothing more can be done until near the winter solstice when the carpenters cut a hole in the floor of X's house, immediately behind the fire, and fasten the section removed with skin hinges to make a trap-door. Then the carpenters, marshals, singers, and other influential *kukusiut* meet some evening

beating of sticks. The plating over his stomach is not apparent 575*
in the dim light, especially as much of it is hidden by his collar 796*
of dyed cedar-bark and a broad dance-apron. Sometimes the disguise is improved by fastening the skin of a dog, mountain goat, or deer, over the outer surface. X takes up his position, standing, behind the fire. One of the heralds inserts tongs into the flames and draws forth a stone, taking care that the uninitiated can see that it is red hot. X pretends to swallow this, though actually it drops inside his collar to the receptacle between the plates of copper. The clashing can often be heard as it strikes against the metal, and smoke pours forth from the "navel." X groans and jabbers, *i·····*, while he shakes his fingers violently. After about five minutes the stone is seen to fall to the floor. Sometimes a number of pebbles are used, though one is often considered sufficient. When the last has fallen, non-members are expelled and the *kukusiut* eat and listen to the admonitions of the marshals.

As with other *kusiotem* rites, the ritual of this dance is continued for four more days. Masks are prepared and on the fourth evening the uninitiated are summoned. A masked figure, wearing a copper stomach, appears and swallows a stone which later falls out through the navel. This is done four times, while *Ăno°likwolsaix* explains that the guest from above is repeating his actions at home. Following this performance, a procession of supernatural beings appears, in the manner already described.

Although X is not killed by this dance, as are other *kusiotem* dancers, he is required to undergo the same restrictions.

THE FUNGUS DANCE

Another of the more important *kusiut* ceremonials is the [424]
Fungus dance, now the prerogative of a woman, *Snʌnikka°kʌs*. The name was formerly held by her brother, who had inherited it from his mother's brother. The first *Snʌnikka°kʌs* came to
earth in the beginning of time at *Stuux* and made his repository [778]

who comes nearest to drawing forth the fungus and the spectators comment: 575* 796*

"She must be a good girl for the supernatural beings to show their approval."

At intervals X lifts up the fungus, and his strength is shown especially when the cord has been pulled so far down that he can grip only the very end with one finger. The four *kukusiut* hidden below sometimes become weary of their work and tie a billet crosswise to the rope so that no one can lift it, but of course this must be removed when X demonstrates his prowess again. Towards dawn the concealed helpers cut the rope and X lifts the fungus, *holding it in front of his body while the* *kukusiut* women drone. With four assistants pressing closely around him, X turns and makes the motion of throwing the fungus up into the air with a cry of *hoip*. It vanishes, and the uninitiated do not realize that it has been palmed to one of the accomplices for concealment beneath his blanket. Then one of the marshals explains to non-members that in the land above the supernatural beings once endeavoured to lift up a fungus, but that X alone, referring to that part of him which visits the dances in the land above, could do so. Accordingly it was sent down for mortals to try, and now that they too have failed it has been sent back. He enlarges on the fact that X, [787] through lying quiet for four days communing with the supernatural beings, has really become one, as is indeed the case with all *kukusiut* who ascend to the land above or experience other peculiar incidents in the course of their performances. This concludes the ceremony; the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow.

Instead of a *nebusam* of the type just described, X has the prerogative of performing in an entirely different manner of which only the outlines could be obtained. The fungus is tied to a long rope and thrown into the rapids. One end of the cord is held by a *kusiut* on the bank with the result that the fungus whirls to and fro erratically. The *kukusiut* assemble on the bank and hurl harpoons at it while non-members watch 575* 796* 424

[The Fungus Dance]

*575 *796 [424] from a distance. When one of the participants has speared the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house. The uninitiated are then called in and enter, often covering their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what governed, in the old days, the choice between these two performances.

*575 *796 178 The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical *kusiut* rituals already described. In part this is certainly due to decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by *Snʋnkka·kʋs*, who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission of masked figures on *nʋbusam.*

*575 *796 821 [424] The ritual on that occasion was further complicated by the fact that *Snʋnkka·kʋs* has also the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and insisted on this fact being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of these were composed instead of the usual two, and the supernatural beings described in them were:

[533] *Alquntäm:* under the name of *Sʋnxälotla.*

[776] The Moon.

[532] *Smaiʋn·a:* This was introduced on account of being the place from which the Salmon-Bringer leaps to the sun. A mask representing this place of petrified power is always painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is decorated in the same way.

The *Snʋnq* mouths that act as posts at the ends of the sun's course.

Slifim: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to use a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

[533] At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

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time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his house where the singers at once compose a new song, describing sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X dances. Other *kukusiut* have the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, but X claims to be the only one entitled to dance at both.

THE MYSTERY DANCE

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Mystery is the key-note of all *kusiut* dances, but in the one termed *Äłmutsämk* that element is brought home so forcibly to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Mystery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *Äłmutsämk* means *staq̣am*, "What Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is embodied in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone guesses its locations, the performer will die. The Mystery dance is one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it.

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Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by *Q̣oxołän·i* of *Tcımotł* and *Saix̣näs* of Kimsquit, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given, and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The patron of most Mystery dancers is *Sänołłx̣ımułełts Äłquntäm*, but that of *Saix̣näs* is *Kokosłxım*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour.

When X has stored up as much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the marshals together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of consent, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four *kukusiut* gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the guesses made by the uninitiated. If many *kukusiut* are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

[The Mystery Dance]

* 575 * 796 *qotlım*, and it is agreed that the call shall come to him on the following evening.

[184] X's first task is to prepare, or to have made for him, a stick which he will use throughout the ceremony. It is of yellow cedar, about five feet in length; in Kimsquit it is decorated with four bands of swan feathers, in Bella Coola with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

[787] The following evening the call comes to X. He utters a low whistle, resembling a hoot, goes towards the fire and slowly revolves on himself. The *kukusiut* women present begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Constantly turning on himself, X slowly moves sunwise around the flames, repeating his hoot three times, once at each side of the fire. He stands behind it and calls out loudly:

"Please say exactly what you want; whatever it is, I will do it."

After the customary frenzied beating, he withdraws to the back-room. Heralds go to all the houses, reporting what has taken place and summoning the *kukusiut*. When all have gathered, X appears and asks for the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a dance-apron. These are provided, put on him and his face is blackened. Under the guidance of a marshal or singer, the *kukusiut* men beat furiously on the floor, without time or rhythm, until the leader motions them to conclude with four thunderous beats. In the stillness that follows X begins to chatter loudly, without using exact words, and everyone realizes that this is an invitation to guess who are the three supernatural beings in whom his power is localized. Sometimes

● [424] the meaning is made still more evident by his carrying the stick previously mentioned, which is the prerogative of Mystery dancers alone. The guests enter into the spirit of the dance and call out their guesses, naming little known supernatural beings, parts of beings, or manifestations of the supernatural; sometimes three or four answer at the same time. The four remembrancers have placed themselves near X and it is their duty to recollect the replies. When *kukusiut* alone

[The Mystery Dance]

that the whistle of *Snitsmän·a* is heard. The uninitiated, hear- 575*
ing the sound from the other houses, realize that the kindly 796*
being is approaching and are not surprised when a herald [184]
presently comes around to announce that X has recovered. In
Kimsquit, X's frenzy slowly leaves him, and from this point
onwards there are no differences in ritual between the two
localities. The singers beat out a new song, prepared in readi- [533]
ness, of which the theme is *Snitsmän·a*, "The Restorer." X
dances to it, and afterwards to any four of the numerous songs
previously composed for him. Then he sits down, the first time
he has done so, in public at any rate, since the beginning of the
rite. Food is next distributed, the marshals make their usual
remarks and the *kukusiut* finally go to bed. From this point
on, the ceremony follows the regular *kusiut* pattern; this occa-
sion, when the riddles are solved, corresponds to *ìsuxtämem*.
The successful guesser is dealt with as an initiate in the manner
already described. Some of the uninitiated sitting near the
youth often realize that he has been prompted by his father,
but they regard this as a mere sign of solicitude, assuming that
the parent's supernatural power enabled him to solve the
problem. It seems clear to them that he could not have known
the answer for any length of time because, like others, he had
many times guessed and failed.

The next day is *nusiutälsap*. In the morning all the *kuku-* 575*
siut assemble in X's house to learn another new song; this cor- 796*
responds to the second of a dance which lacks the long pre- 532
liminaries of this one. A number of *kukusiut* accompany X
to the forest to get the necessary wood for the masks. Mystery [424]
dancers have the right to exhibit any, and as many, super-
natural beings as they please, hence a large amount of wood
must be brought back. In the evening comes the allotment
of work. X may do it himself, but usually he asks his father,
or some other elderly relative to act on his behalf. Since all
his relatives contribute, the actual distribution of labour is
not a task in which X alone is concerned. *Ăno°likwolsaix* must
be portrayed, and the three best carpenters are entrusted with

[The Dance of Winwina]

foes. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 773

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Oltoldimut*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning. 824 825

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nunutäkentınım*, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers." 539

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Änukpımaix*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Sgaieltwa*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the cohoe salmon, *K̓papstustusailaix*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Osipax*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola *kukusiut* have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of *Winwina* as patron likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Älquntäm* placed the name *Nunuskımai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount *Qo*, near *Stuıx*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby brushing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Winwina*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nunuskımai* has had the *kusıut* prerogative of seeing *Winwina*. 424 773 778 [776]

[The Dance of Winwina]

424 773 776 Another *kusiut* derived the prerogative of having *Winwina* as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After Raven had seen *Noäkxnm* and obtained him for *Ällikmnälosaix*, he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Winwina*, and made him patron for *Omqomkilhka*.

*575 *796 The ritual of the dance of *Winwina* does not vary, irrespective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] [424] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

[184] *Winwina* is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full;[87] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kusiut* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukusiut* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Winwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened. [292]

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukusiut* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

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[805] [87] Owing to faulty calendrical observations the exact date is seldom found.

[The Dance of Winwina]

on the floor with a stick and the women sing with him. Food 575*
is then given to all and the people disperse. 796*

It will be noted how greatly this dance differs from the usual *kusiut* pattern, especially in the omission of a *nebusam* when masks are used. Instead of the ritual just described, X has the option of using another, similar to the customary *kusiut* [424]
type. The following ritual has not been carried out for many years so it is probable that many details have been overlooked. No information was obtainable about the motives governing X's choice of dance.

As in all *kusiut* dances, the first essential is to select a suitable time, a matter of arrangement with the marshals. The night chosen for the coming of the call is often the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. The *kukusiut* gather in X's house, where the singers beat out the song composed for the occasion, describing *Winwina* and his crew, especially the four *Kämäłälkł* who were not only too lazy to capture any booty, but wanted to sleep all the time and could be roused only by being drenched with cold water. The audience listens attentively and then practises the song; X often dances but it is not important since no uninitiated are present. There are no unusual features in the ritual of this night of *łsuxtämem*.

The next day is *nusiutälsap* when the wood is brought in for masks, the making of which is allotted in the evening. Five [532]
only are required; one of *Åno°likwolsaix* and four of *Kämäłälkł*. The ritual is of the ordinary type both on this night and on *qotłm*.

When the uninitiated are called in on the evening of *nebusam* they see X standing behind the fire, as if to guard the two masked figures standing on either side of him. Fluent speakers are selected to wear these masks of *Kämäłälkł* and they enliven the proceedings by their arguments.

"I captured the sockeye salmon," says one.

"You liar!" replies another. "You were asleep. It was I who seized the sockeye salmon."

* 575 *kukusiut* send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two
* 796 by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial
is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

[773] As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land
[777] above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial
is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys
[753] health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill.
The uninitiated believe that several *kukusiut* have the pre-
● [424] rogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial
season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a
[178] useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on
the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly
[164] carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century.
The following account was obtained from two old men
[115] who remembered the manner in which a certain *Onikotl* of
Tcımotl performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness."
Neither of the informants was a *kusiut* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *kusiotem* dances in many respects. X
must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding
summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective
dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a
[283] number of *kukusiut* women to help him by making a very long
and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women
gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking
[688] care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort
is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break
would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

second of the whole performance. The ritual is of the regular type with the composition and practising of a song. 575* 796*

During the evening of the next day, *nusiutälsap*, the usual carpentry tasks are allotted. Only three masks are required, [532] one of *Äno°likwolsaix* and two of supernatural beings termed *Mutletsta*, as if they had the power to lengthen or curtail the lives of human beings. The ritual on *qotlum* warrants no special description. Late in the afternoon of *nəbusam* the *kukusiut* assemble in X's home and the uninitiated are presently startled to see them all rush forth with three masked figures in their midst. Assuming, of course, that these are supernatural visitors, the frightened non-members retreat to their houses where they peer forth at the figures as they parade up and down the shore beside the river. They can easily recognize *Äno°likwolsaix*, [532] but not her two companions whose faces are painted black and white, and who have projecting, snout-like mouths. After this promenade and a certain amount of dancing, the party retires to X's house whither the uninitiated are presently summoned. The two *Mutletsta* dance around the fire while *Äno°likwolsaix* explains their power over the lives of mortals. The *kukusiut* soon ask the uninitiated to withdraw and the ceremony ends in the customary manner.

X must perform this full ritual at least once after obtaining [424] his *kusiut* name with respect to it, but on later occasions he can, if he so desires, limit himself to the second part of the ceremony with the appearance on earth of the *Mutletsta*.

THE DANCE OF THUNDER

According to Bella Coola belief, the supernatural ones in 575* the upper land resemble human beings in performing *kusiut* 796* dances. Like mortals, some of those above are more powerful 424 and more feared than others, but the senior *kusiut* among them 776 is Thunder. Corresponding to the prowess of his patron, the dance of his human protégé is one of the most important *kusiut* rituals. The essential feature of it is that Thunder calls all supernatural beings to witness his dance, and in consequence

*575 his follower on earth can do the same. The ritual of *nebusam*
*796 of a Thunder dancer is accordingly identical with that of a
●424 Mystery dancer. In the field an effort was made to obtain
accounts of what had actually occurred at dances rather than
[776] of what should have happened; at the dance of Mystery, previously described, several of the usual features were omitted, and these were accordingly left out of the account. They will now be mentioned in connection with the dance of Thunder, but the fact must be emphasized that they belong equally to all *kusiut* rites in which the dancer has the prerogative of showing all supernatural beings, including Thunder.

[551] In Kimsquit the name of the *kusiut* having the prerogative of singing of Thunder signifies, "The Roarer," with reference to his patron. The native term could not be learnt. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X.

*575 The Thunder dance is of the normal *kusiut* type in every
*796 respect, so no account need be given of the ceremonial of the first three days. Many masks are ordered on the night of
776 *nusiutälsap* and these are ready early on *nebusam*. During that day the expectant uninitiated are excited to see the masked figure of *Åno°likwolsaix* emerge from X's house, accompanied by a throng of *kukusiut* who chase all but members of the society back to their homes. Following them comes Thunder's herald, *Ålxwolätʌnim*, calling on all to prepare to come to the dance of Thunder, the leading *kusiut* of the supernatural beings. This messenger circles *Songʷ'* to summon the supernatural ones to Thunder's dance, the reason that all can be shown at X's ceremonial. Immediately behind *Ålxwolätʌnim* comes *Ṫloqots*, the Defamer, protesting that Thunder's dance is not worth attending since he, and he alone, is the senior *kusiut* of the supernatural ones. *Åno°likwolsaix* adds her usual comments to the remarks of the two masked figures. This series of invitations and counter-invitations is repeated four times during the day, to the wonder of the uninitiated who peer out through chinks in the houses and around corners of the buildings. Sometimes *Ålxwolätʌnim* and *Ṫloqots* pass from

[The Dance of Thunder]

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796 with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger
776 and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him
and humming fiercely. The writer took the part of a super-
[123] natural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of
[981] 1922-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a
younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *kukusiut* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at the dance of Thunder is Rainwater-Dripping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Ăno°likwolsaix* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the planking. The Clowns
[522] are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Ăno°likwolsaix*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

575 Dancers whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or
796 Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but
[424] perform whenever a manifestation of their patron occurs. If Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of
[821] year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too lustily up aloft. *Xwo* ···."

[789] The call of *xwo* ··· is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any *kukusiut* women present at once drone, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

*575 the goats were plentiful, fat, and unsuspicious, so that before nightfall
*796 they had killed four. Well satisfied, they lay down in a cave to sleep
539 for the night. At that time no one knew what supernatural being caused
821 thunder; the earliest inhabitants of the world had possessed that knowledge but it had been forgotten in the intervening generations. Towards midnight the hunters were awakened by a loud boom and wondered what could have caused it. Presently they saw approaching a figure resembling a man, with a weird non-human face, who carried in each hand a huge rock crystal.[illegible] He raised and lowered his arms as if pounding; at each movement the crystals struck each other, producing the booming sound and also emitting a flash of light. The eldest brother, *Saiks*, told the others to cover their faces with their blankets and to keep their eyes closed, because some evil and powerful creature was drawing near. But the second brother, who had caught a glimpse of the two crystals and greatly desired them, watched cautiously, hoping for an opportunity to steal them. Thunder, for it was none other, ranged around; at intervals he passed across to the other side of the intervening valley on a sidewalk which grew before his feet to form a bridge for him, and on it, too, he was able to retrace his steps. Several times Thunder crossed and recrossed, accompanied by reverberating peals. He came near the four brothers and danced; then lay down while fire emerged from his nostrils. The second brother began to feel scorched, gradually the heat increased, but he was powerless to move; before dawn, when Thunder vanished, he had been roasted to death.

The three survivors buried the dead man in a hastily made grave in the floor of the cave and went home, abandoning the mountain goats which they had killed. *Saiks*, though grieved at the loss of his brother, felt that the latter's death was his own fault for peeking when he had been warned not to do so. Not long afterwards the two younger brothers died. Then the sole survivor told a carpenter to make him a mask secretly, according to a design which he would describe. In this way the face of Thunder was portrayed in wood. When the mask was ready, *Saiks* wore it and gave an imitation of the actions of his patron; no one had ever seen anything like it and the people were amazed.

*575 No great antiquity is ascribed to this myth and it gives no
*796 explanation of questions which at once arise in the investi-
539 gator's mind. The type is fairly common in Bella Coola; in
fact, the only unusual part of it is that the visionary received
● 424 a *kusiut* prerogative rather than one of the forms of guild for-
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[illegible] This is said to have been equivalent to the fire-rattle of a Thunder dancer.

name previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Saiks* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1900, each *Saiks* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

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THE GHOST DANCE[illegible]

Among the numerous patrons of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *[illegible]*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an encounter with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *[illegible] of [illegible]* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

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At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *[illegible]* of some other *kusiut*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the *[illegible]* rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but tuneless whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

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[illegible] No relationship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas.

[171]

[The Ghost Dance]

* 575 leave their bedrooms, but peer curiously and fearfully around
* 746 the edge of the boards. Finally the party returns to X's house, whence the uninitiated hear the sound of sticks being beaten in a funeral manner, but without the usual rhythmic conclusion. Each *kusiut* beats as he likes, because it is an affair
[775] of the dead with whom all things are queer and unnatural.

* 575 The ghosts wash and take their places in X's house where
* 746 the singers are working on a new song. The words, as if spoken
775 by the dancer, describe the land of the dead; how everything
535 is green there; how the river flows from west to east so that the sun travels upstream; how the chiefs wished to make him a chief, and deceived him by not giving proper presents; how he visited the various towns scattered along the river, finding his home in one of the houses; and finally how the dead told him of any mistakes in ritual that had been committed in the Bella Coola villages, in Kimsquit, or in *Tal'io*. This last is, of course, common knowledge, but the Ghost dance is the only *kusiut* ceremonial in which such information is used in the text of a song. Details are given, but the wording is so ambiguous that when the uninitiated later hear the song they do not comprehend its meaning. Since the *kukusiut* have concealed the error referred to, the necessity for veiled allusions is apparent. Everything connected with the Ghost dance is carried out in the reverse order; thus, the reference of X to presents which he did not receive is merely an intimation that he will presently bestow gifts on the singers and the other *kukusiut* who have assisted him. The wordless chorus of the tune consists of
[771] 'aija'aenais, a phrase said to be the same for Ghost dances among all the coastal tribes. The singers practise this song while the audience listens attentively; then it is sung vigorous-
* 575 ly by all, while X dances. His style differs from that of all
* 746 other *kukusiut*; first one arm and then the other is kept ex-
535 tended, downwards, at an angle in front of the body with the forefinger pointing to the ground. This method of dancing is
● 424 the prerogative of all Ghost dancers and provides a variation to the somewhat monotonous performances on different [illegible]

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 *796 [787] X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukusiut* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already [424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 *796 776 [529] [891] Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *[illegible]*, a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also named *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her [illegible] at Kimsquit is a young [551] [562] [424] man, *[illegible]*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *[illegible]*; like all other *kusiut* names these can be used either by men or women. It is said that *[illegible]*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *[illegible]* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer [538] [532] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing not only of *[illegible]*, but also of the being known as *[illegible]*. Many masks are required so the [illegible] of either of these beings, as it is customary for X to perform with respect to *[illegible]* one year, and to *[illegible]* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both patrons.

*796 *575 When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally, *975 *976 the burning of the masks, the dancing of X, and the return of his call.

During a later season when a call comes to X, the ritual deals with *W'cuintumuł*, but only the outline of the ceremony could be learnt. The theme of the two songs composed for the [533] occasion is of *W'cuintumuł* and how he fights with his enemies, the cold winds. His only weapons are fierce roaring and a belligerent expression, but these suffice to keep his adversaries at a distance, especially his principal foeman, the evil wind, *Nusdi'qmc*.

There is no deviation from the usual type of *kusiut* ceremonial until the day of *sulacam* when a fight takes place at the river's edge where all, including the uninitiated, can see it. The *kukusiut* of the village are divided into two parties, of which one comes from upstream, the other from below, meeting in front of X's house. The leaderless combatants shove each other two and fro, without actually coming to blows. *W'cuintumuł* remains behind one party, encouraging his warriors by his roars, while *Nusdi'qmc* spurs on his supporters by valiant gestures, without daring to come too near the combat. *W'cuintumuł*'s followers finally win the day and drive back the other party. *Aul'likwalutx* is much in evidence, explaining to the uninitiated, who cower in the shelter of the houses, that this is the way in which the winds fight in the land above. That evening non-members are called to X's house where they witness a combat of the same type. The ceremonial concludes in the usual manner.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL LOVER

[534] Another *kusiut* ceremonial which closely resembles that just described is the prerogative of a young Bella Coola woman named *Qwa'xaił* who inherited it from her mother's mother's sister's son. It will be convenient to refer to her as X.

When X wishes to dance, she first obtains the consent of the custodians in the normal manner and chooses a convenient [535] day for the coming of her call. Then the *kukusiut* gather in

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers compose a new song. The theme 575*
is of her patron, the young male being, *Kwat·iwal·a*, "The Big 796*
One." It describes how he came from above and went far and [533]
near over the earth in lustful pursuit of women, how each
victim fell in love with her seducer so that she followed him in [776]
all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he
exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone-shells.

On [illegible] when the *kukusiut* as usual go to the forest, [532]
they bring back not only wood for masks but also the trunk of
a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two
succeeding days. On [illegible] a parade occurs of the supernatural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural
Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men,
of the different coastal tribes. *Kwat·iwal·a* leads the procession
and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Sximsximdi*
to her would-be lovers. There is the same licence for lewd [831]
remarks, of which *Kwat·iwal·a* takes full advantage when he [522]
calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks
them how many mistresses each has had.

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where
the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the [532]
carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's
head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation
of a loon's plumage. *Kwatiwal·a* is in evidence, wearing a
bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear
corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see
the throng of his mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to
blows in their eagerness to reach their seducer. *Anolikwotsaix*
stands on one side and explains the significance. After the
mock combat has lasted for a few minutes, a Cannibal begins to
growl and the uninitiated scurry out. The ceremonial then
concludes in the usual manner.

This dance differs from all other *kusiut* rites in one respect, [424] ●
since the call can come to a several times during a single ceremonial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses
her own discretion as to wether she dance more than once,

*575
*796 but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.
[424]

THE SUN DANCE[illegible]

[776] [821] One of the forms in which *Ălquntăm* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sɪnxălotla*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare [124] outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[illegible] were themselves protégés of *Ălquntăm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

[424] [551] Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Ălquntăm*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having *Ălquntăm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qoxolăn·i* of *Tcımatl*, and *Nexnexliwalaix* of *Nusq̇alst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

[533] [776] Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme is of *Ălquntăm*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are required; a large one representing *Ălquntăm* himself, one of [532]

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[171]
[illegible] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[illegible] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

[The Sun Dance]

Ano'likwolsaix, and two of the supernatural Clowns. In addition a white disk, about four feet in diameter, is ordered with a human face in the centre; this represents the Sun with *Alquntäm*. No detailed description is required until the night of *nebusam*. 575* 796* [532]

The *kukusiut* gather in the dusk and summon the uninitiated as soon as all is in readiness. On entering, they see the huge and imposing figure of *Alquntäm* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, flanked by a number of the most important *kukusiut* as if to pay respect to him. X stands immediately behind, repeatedly throwing one arm over *Alquntäm*'s head and crying *hoip* to soothe the visitor. The two Clowns move to and fro, all over the house, making what remarks they like as if they were spoilt children. [522] *Ano'likwolsaix* stands on one side, explaining the meaning of it all, and giving the names of the supernatural beings represented. Suddenly the white disk appears against the back wall near the roof, slowly passes sunwise across the house, and disappears. [821] The uninitiated recognize that it is not the Sun, but to them it seems miraculous that this body can move as it does, and they easily accept *Ano'likwolsaix*'s explanation that this is the way *Alquntäm* crosses the heavens. They do not know that for the last two days the carpenters have been exercising their ingenuity in arranging cords so that the object can be drawn across smoothly and steadily. Again the sun "rises," and crosses the back wall, only to disappear from sight. This is repeated twice more, making four times in all. It is said that sometimes the Sun is made to spin just before it "sets," but the method could not be learnt. At this juncture the uninitiated are sent home and the proceedings conclude as usual.

In addition to performing in the customary manner, X is required to dance on other definite occasions, without the coming of a call. [424] According to some informants, X must sing of his patron at the beginning of the ceremonial season, coincidently with the protégé of *Noäkxnəm*. This is probably correct but details were unobtainable. In any case, when the

[The Sun Dance]

*575 *796 dance of *Noākxnm* is omitted owing to the large expenditure required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the *Wıl·a* dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

● [724] [821] Likewise at the winter solstice, when the tarrying *Ālquntām* at last enters *Nusqulxwaista* to greet the waiting supernatural *kukusiut*, it is incumbent on his protégé to perform in his honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *kusiut* who has had a call. When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food, provided by X, which they carry away while the *kukusiut* remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above. [821] One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

*575 *796 821 Like the protégé of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a Thunder dancer acts when his patron is apparent by peals of sound, X must do so when his patron is invisible through an eclipse.[illegible] The ritual is almost identical with that already described for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the village, the *kukusiut* gather in his house where the singers are [533] composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *[illegible]*, has blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disastrous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

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[776] [192] [illegible] The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is *[illegible]* which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make 575*
good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been 796*
a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an 821
eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with
death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his [688]
fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his [177]
conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in
deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron [776]
to *kusiut* danccrs, the Moon also has many human protégés.
Among them is *Nulwimāx*, "The Moon When It Is Unob- [551]
scured,"[46] of *Tcumotl*, from whom the following account of the [424]
Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X.

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Asiutānem:[47] A woman who lives in the moon and who can 575*
be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of 796*
water. 821

The two *Aiqwaiust:* These two beings are able periodically
to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse. 776

The two *Snitsmān-a:*[48] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares
to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition simi- [784]
lar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place.

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[47] *Asiutānem* is the usual term for ghost; no reason was given for the application [775]
of the same designation to the woman living in the moon.

[48] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not [192]
there is more than one of these beings.

[The Moon Dance]

*575 *796 821 [532] No detailed description is needed for the ceremonial on either *nusiutälsap* or *qotlım*. On the evening of the former day the masks are ordered; one for *Asiutänem*, who appears to be confused with the Moon itself, one for each *Aiq̓waiust*, one for each *Snitsmän·a*, and one for *Äno°likwolsaix*.

[532] Late in the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to see that everything is in good shape. A large mat has been spread across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. After the usual discussion the uninitiated are called in. Each *Snitsmän·a* remains standing alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two *Aiq̓waiust* are in the central space behind the fire, constantly waving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the matting. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs its course so that it moves in a short arc across the background and disappears; *Äno°likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is the track of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which *Äno°likwolsaix* says is the longer orbit of the waxing Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house near the roof, which *Äno°likwolsaix* describes as the course of the full Moon, far above the mountains. She also explains that we are indebted to *Snitsmän·a* for cleaning the Moon's face after the *Aiq̓waiust* have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle; the uninitiated are sent away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition X is required to dance whenever his patron is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

*575 *796 539 ● 424 778 551

THE DANCE OF THE MURDERED SLAVE

One of the chieftains who came to earth in the beginning of time was [illegible], whose wealth was so great that he was able to invite his associates from far and near to potlatches, and thus acquire many *susaek*

names for his only son. Becoming surfeited with this form of greatness, 575*
he decided to initiate a *kusiut* ceremonial for his child. At that time 796*
chiefs were so powerful that they could create their own repositories, and 539
Älixımotusaix resolved to make his son's in his own house. To give
strength to it, he dug a hole and buried alive in it a female slave with her 424
small infant. The unfortunate woman was a member of the tribe known 778
to the Bella Coola as *Ťaxakl*, probably a branch of the Haida; like all
other northern tribeswomen she wore in her lower lip a plug of abalone- 551
shell. *Älixımotusaix* also buried in the hole a large number of the wasps
which abounded in his house. The uninitiated were told that the woman
had chanced to stumble upon a repository and had become *keluls*,
"rendered incapable of returning"; from this circumstance she was
henceforth known as *Änukelulslaix*. The *kukusiut* also informed non-
members that the woman had been made immortal, and was forever to
remain as a slave in the repository. *Älixımotusaix* chose the name
Q̣apätus, "Sharp-Nosed," for his son, a reference to the sharp beaks
of the numerous ravens shown on every object in his house. This
designation has since been transmitted in the usual manner; every owner
has had the right to perform a dance with the buried woman as patron.

In describing the ritual it will be convenient to refer to 575*
Q̣apätus as X. 796*

When X wishes to dance he obtains permission from the marshals and makes his preliminary plans in the customary way. A suitable date for the coming of the call is chosen, and, on the night preceding, the weeping of *Änukelulslaix* is heard in the forest behind the village. The weeper is one of X's associates, but no uninitiated would be reckless enough to venture near. She moves down the valley, as if coming from the repository near the village of *Stuıx*. The next evening X receives his call and the uninitiated are expelled from his house. The dancer blackens his face, puts on a ceremonial collar, and goes out alone to find the slave woman; presently he returns, leading *Änukelulslaix* by the hand. She is disguised as an old, old woman, clad in rags and carrying on her back a bundle
made to represent a small infant; over her face is a mask with [532]
a plug of abalone-shell in the lower lip (see Plate 12).[1/A] She slowly circles the fire, weeping bitterly, while the *kukusiut*

[1/A] [See category 116, p 164 (F)- ANALYST]

This ceremony is an example of the great diversity in *kusiut* 575*
dances. Instead of the usual patron in the land above, the 796*
slave woman is considered to be definitely located on this
earth, at a spot near *Stuix*. Moreover, the call comes through
her actual appearance. The writer would have liked to learn
further details of the dance, but they were unobtainable.

THE DANCE OF THE OTTER

Since every Bella Coola has, at the present time, some sort [424]
of *kusiut* dance, it would have been possible to collect the
details of a large number. Only the main outlines of the dances which follow were obtained, but it is hoped that the complexity of those already described will suffice to explain the scope of the *kusiut* society. In some cases the details were omitted to save time, in other cases the informant was ignorant of them. The latter reason is responsible for the sketchiness of the Otter dance.

This ritual is the prerogative of a *Snulǝli kusiut*, *Xwodjen·i*, 575*
"The Crash," a name which refers to the din when the first 796*
Sonx̣ʷ collapsed in the beginning of time. Presumably one 424
of *Xwodjen·i*'s ancestors was present at the fall and chose the
name in consequence. The dancer's patron is the land otter, 551
but the connection between this animal and the name has been
forgotten, as the father of the performer frankly admitted. He suggested that probably one of his ancestors remembered having seen an otter before coming to this world, and chose it as patron for a dance which he instituted with respect to the name *Xwodjen·i*. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X.

X can perform at any convenient period during the ceremonial 575*
season. When the call comes, the ritual of the first 796*
three days follows normally, except that the songs used [593]
are supposed to have been unaltered. Before *nebusam* the
carpenters prepare a dummy otter, using a skin stretched over a wooden framework. A long rope is fastened to this and the figure thrown into the water so that it sways to and fro

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of the Otter]

*575
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below a rapids. Care is taken that the uninitiated do not observe these arrangements. About noon on *nebusam* the heralds go to every house with a cry:

"Come to watch the *kusiut* catch the supernatural one in the river."

The uninitiated are wise enough to remain within their houses as the *kukusiut* troop down to the bank of the river. Presently X appears, clad in the usual ceremonial costume. In he dives, as if in pursuit of the dark shape which can be seen swirling to and fro in the water. Non-members, watching from the background, are amazed to see what appears to be a struggle, followed by the emergence of X clutching an otter in his arms. They are too far away to perceive that it is merely a dummy, nor do they know that a *kusiut* has assisted the performer by cutting the rope at the proper time. As X reaches shore with his burden the *kukusiut* women drone. Forcing his way through the throng of his associates, the performer goes to his house where the uninitiated presently hear the frenzied beating of sticks repeated four times. The dummy is carefully concealed in the back-room so that it can be used if necessary on a later occasion.

As X comes ashore, water is splashed in all directions from the dummy and often dampens several of the *kukusiut*. Anyone to whom this happens is expected to give his clothes to a herald, and a man of chief-like disposition never hesitates to do so; in fact, he welcomes this opportunity of displaying his generous nature. [556]

It is probable that a number of masked figures appear on the evening of *nebusam*, but detailed information is lacking. It might be added that a question as to whether the catching of this otter had any influence on the ability of X as an otter hunter was regarded by the informant as highly humorous.

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THE OCTOPUS DANCE

In the beginning of time *Sinuxti* of Kimsquit married a Bella Bella woman who brought as part of her dowry a *kusiut*

dance with Octopus as patron. This was first used by 575*
Łulqwan·i, a relative of *Sinuxetl*, and has since been the pre- 796*
rogative of the owner of the name, whom it will be convenient 424 ●
to term X. Being of foreign origin, there is no repository at [551]
Kimsquit; in fact, there is none even in Bella Bella itself
where the *kusiut* society is believed to lack both localized [778]
power and ancestral authority.[illegible] The Octopus dance is thus the only one without a repository; as far as could be learnt it is not performed in Bella Coola. In Bella Bella the original rite was connected both with the *sisaok* and *kusiut* organizations, but in Kimsquit with the latter alone.

When X wishes to dance, which may be at any time during 575*
the ceremonial season, he consults the marshals and picks a 796*
suitable date. As this draws near, the carpenters are re-
quested to make an octopus, sometimes using a real skin as basis. [532]
On the day that the call comes, the dummy is placed in the water of the fiord, close to shore. Suddenly the heralds raise the cry that a supernatural being is coming to X; the startled uninitiated flee from his house and the *kukusiut* assemble. Presently the dancer rushes forth, followed by a band of his fellows, and plunges into the water. Fom a distance non-members can see arms and legs flying to and fro, blood flows as the *kukusiut* struggling in the shallows strike each other's noses, and they have no hesitation in believing the heralds who report that a fight is taking place with a writhing octopus. X at last bears his booty ashore, amid the droning of the women.

That night the uninitiated are called to X's house where
the dummy octopus, guarded by the dancer and several other
kukusiut, is placed behind the fire. Hidden strings have been [532]
fastened to its arms so that it moves and seems to be alive.
One of the singers takes a baton and beats time, stops, and all the *kukusiut* call out *i*···. This is repeated four times, accompanied, on the last repetition, by the return of the octopus whence it came. This is done by palming the body from sight, but of course the uninitiated do not know this. A

[illegible] This is, of course, a Bella Coola version.

[The Octopus Dance]

*575 Cannibal begins to growl and soon the *kukusiut* are left alone
*796 in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the ritual continues like that of any other *lsuxtämem*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *nusiutälsap* and *qotlum*.

On the evening of *nebusam* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown
[532] could not be learnt, but among them is always an octopus. The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance
[431] are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kusiut* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out.
[556] The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

*575 One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kusiut* dances is
*796 that performed by a certain *Kälqam*, whom it will be conven-
●424 ient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Sttqwastlustkwi*, Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick ever-
[776] greens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some
[778] large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fiord; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his
[776] patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and
[787] in consequence calls come to many *kukusiut*,[illegible] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On
*575 the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance,
*796 X steals away from the village with three or four *kukusiut*,

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[illegible] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

[The Dance of the Dark-Shade]

preferably skilled carpenters. Heralds visit every house in 575*
the village informing all that X has gone to meet, or to wait 796*
for, Dark-Shade.

Meanwhile X and his companions are utilizing the last
hours of daylight in collecting a large quantity of gum. They
build a fire, and by its flickering light the dancer is coated with
gum so carefully that even his teeth and nails are invisible; in
this disguise he represents Dark-Shade. Early the following
morning the singers and those *kukusiut* who have already
danced during the current season set off on lashed canoes to
meet X and his party whom they take on board. Waiting till
the tide is favourable, the canoes are slowly poled up the river.
As they come in sight of the village, the singers strike up some [535]
well-known tune, and in time to it everyone on the platform [424] ●
between the canoes begins to dance, each using the style proper
to his prerogative. It is an animated scene. The uninitiated
watch the approach, and gaze with wonder upon the strange
dark figure; it is all so uncanny that they need little urging
from the *kukusiut* to withdraw to their houses, where they
peer curiously through chinks in the walls. Members of the 575*
society line the river bank and, as Dark-Shade draws near, one
after another cries out that a call has come to him. The 796*
marshals have previously decided who shall dance at this time 787
and informed those selected; sometimes it is a *kusiut* who has
already performed once during the season, or it may be a
person who has not performed for many years.

All the *kukusiut* accompany Dark-Shade and her escort to 575*
X's house from which all uninitiated have long been expelled. 796*
The singers compose a new song of which the words are ar-
ranged as if Dark-Shade, not X, were speaking. The theme [533]
of one, used a number of years ago, is:

"Let X fetch me to visit mortals."

Unfortunately, the details of X's dance were unavailable.
Dark-Shade herself remains for four days hidden within X's
house, though he attends the ceremonies of other *kukusiut* and
his presence there on the nights of *qotlm* and *nebusam* is a

* 575 source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can
* 796 still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought
a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who,
however, is not well posted on *kusiut* matters, there is neither
qotlım nor *nebusam*, and Dark-Shade is merely sent away after
four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been
carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that
[533] he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there
is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed
unless for a definite purpose.

* 575 The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *kusiut* ceremonial
* 796 since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously.
787 In this case the ritual is carried out in unison
which requires, for example, the composition of one song for
424 each performer on *lsuxtämem*. Calls never come in this way
● to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it
is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely
to sing of their patrons. On *nebusam* the patrons of all are
displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a
dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in
evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is
called *twilhmdimut*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight."
Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to
different *kukusiut* is at the winter solstice when, on the entry
of *Älquntäm*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of
them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

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THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

* 796 *Yuyalhmyl*, the man who was petrified with his Ootsa Lake
[776] wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a
[424] Kimsquit *kusiut* man named *Kwasta*. His repository is just
[551] above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about
[778] five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet
north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately
opposite *Yuyalhmyl*'s station. The repository is beneath
the ground, and its doorway is a beaver which became

[The Dance of the Stone Man]

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petrified and which can still be seen, with its head facing the 796* water.

The preliminaries of *Kwasta*'s dance do not differ from [778] those already described, although it is uncertain whence comes the actual call. A large number of masks are constructed, as well as a huge wooden figure of the Stone Man himself, and [532] smaller ones of his wife and four children. When the uninitiated are called in on the night of *nebusam* they see the Stone Man and his family standing behind the fire, while the body of the house is filled with a number of masked figures. The latter keep shouting to the Stone Man and he answers them, as he does mortals who pass his station on Dean Channel. The marshals always arrange that he does not reply to one of the masked figures, whereupon the others gibe at this unfortunate and tell him that he will die within a year. It is common [763] knowledge that if the Stone Man does not answer the hail of a passer-by, the latter will soon die. The uninitiated are impressed to find that supernatural beings share this belief.

THE FIRE DANCE

This dance is the prerogative of a *kusiut* named *Wai·s*, [424] "Cohoe Salmon." Its origin is attributed to the experience of [551] an ancestor of the dancer who was helped by, and received his name from, one of these fish. Only a fragment of the ritual could be learnt, enough to show that it has many points of resemblance with *kusiotem* rites. When *Wai·s* performs, the central fire is raked apart and he appears to lie down on the ashes between the two flaming sections; evergreen boughs and sand are thrown over him, and the fire drawn together over his body. After an hour or more, when the uninitiated imagine he must be baked, his singing is heard, and *Wai·s* walks in through the front door. Deception is practised probably by means of a dummy fastened with deer tendons which contract with the heat so that it seems as if the body itself were writhing. It is said that the first *Wai·s* was actually able to perform this feat by means of the power given him by the salmon,

*575 but the *kukusiut* all understand that later performances by
*796 those with the same name are only possible with the assistance
of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so
many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

*575 The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds
*796 disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a
825 warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration,
they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Alquntäm* collects
[776] the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases
them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with
● [424] supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the
birds, which is in effect a scattering, is known as *nusquakotl*
[551] and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *Qiota*.
For the *nulusam* of this man's dance a huge circular cage con-
[532] taining wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular
maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme
amazement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle
down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and
betray their existence to the spectators.

*575
THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

*796 The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of
776 bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his
double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In
821 fact, he is almost two beings; as *Snqlominis*, "Darkness," he
[513] causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon
[532] as *Stsitema*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on
nulusam figures with black painted masks, representing both
[424] phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Snalsiarmanem*. Like all supernatural creatures,

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assemble to witness the dance of *Ălquntäm*. This is his function in the land above, so it is natural for him to do the same in this world.

THE DANCE OF *Ălquntäm*'s FISHERMAN

Ălquntäm in the land above has a servant who uses a hand-net, *xota*, in fishing for his master. He is accordingly known as *Ălquntäm*'s *Xonzotäm*, "Fisherman," and is patron for a *kusiut*.

THE DANCE OF THE TOP

The playful *Sänollzumuldlts Ălquntäm* has a favourite toy consisting of a stick which can be made to spin between the hands. This top, if it may so be termed, is patron for some *kusiut*. The writer was unable to learn how it is displayed on *nuhusam*.

THE DANCE OF THE PETRIFIED HAMMER

The patron of one *kusiut* is a hammer which in some way was changed to stone in the beginning of time when the Beila Coola River first flowed to the sea.

THE DANCE OF THE GRIZZLY BEAR

A *kusiut* named *Bilkwai* has, as patron, a grizzly bear resident in *Q̣omoqua*'s house.

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[178]

VARIOUS ORIGIN MYTHS

In most cases *kusiut* dances have been preserved until the present day, although the myths on which they depend have long since been forgotten, but the reverse is sometimes the case. The following myths, were recorded with few, or no details of the associated dances. In several cases, one of the same type has already been recorded, so that the significance will be apparent.

A COMPOSITE ORIGIN MYTH[illegible]

Long ago there lived in *Stuie* a man and his wife who were powerful, prosperous, and able to give their children many good names. This

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[illegible] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[115]

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success aroused the jealousy of several of the chiefs who caused the death of the couple by means of sorcery. Six children, five boys and one girl, the last the youngest of the family, were thus left orphans. No one helped them and they suffered greatly from lack of proper food and clothing, besides being forced to bear unreasonable responsibilities and trials. One spring the six went to the forest to gather hemlock-bark for food. The eldest boy climbed a tree and threw down pieces of bark which the little girl helped to pick up; at least her brothers all told her how much she was helping, a kindly fiction because she was really too young to be of assistance. One piece of bark blew some little distance away; she ran to get it, but in a moment came hurrying back in fear, saying that she had seen a strange man clad in a bear-skin blanket, with dyed cedar-bark and eagle down in his hair. At first the five brothers did not believe her, but at length they went to investigate and found the man, as she had described. He was lying on the ground but sat up when they approached.

"I have seen your poverty," he said, "and how you have been afflicted through no fault of your own, but solely owing to the jealousy of the evil *Stuix* chiefs. It was they who killed your parents, but now I give you such power that you will be able to retaliate."

"Your name shall be *Nusim,*" he continued as he turned to the eldest brother. "You shall be a Cannibal. When you dance energetically, instruct someone to cut your stomach vertically and your vitals will fall out, trembling. They will return to you at dawn and you will then fully recover, having frightened the uninitiated."

"Your name shall be *Sang*ʷ*mai,*" he told the second boy. "You, likewise, will be able to have your stomach cut, but you will not be a Cannibal."

"Your name shall be *Nupem,*" he said to the third brother. "You will have the ability to go to the land above to inspect tally posts. You will be able to foretell the length of a man's life from the condition of his post, and to cure the sick by straightening those that are leaning."

Turning to the fourth brother he continued:

"Your name shall be *ayem.* You are to be a *wil-a* dancer, with power to give food and grease to *Ompemhlikha* and his brothers in the regions above. On such occasions you will wear a head-dress of branches covered with eagle down."

Then he addressed the fifth and youngest lad, saying:

"Your name shall be *uwal-a.* You will have a *kusiut* dance in respect to that designation, but without special ability."

Finally the stranger turned to the little girl and said:

"Your name shall be *Qwsirsda-i.* When you dance you will be able to use any one of ten songs and have as patron any supernatural being

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[778]

you choose. You will be more powerful than any of your brothers and it will be you who will retaliate on the murderers of your parents, because you will be a shaman."

The man, a supernatural being, of course, told the six that their supernatural would be the blue pool on the shore of which they had met him; it was oval in shape, about twenty-five feet long and twenty wide. He added that his name was [illegible]. Having given his instructions, the strange visitor vanished.

The six orphans returned in a somewhat bewildered condition to [illegible]. They went into the house where they were staying and [illegible], who was about eight years old, disturbed a cross old woman with his harmless play. In uncontrollable anger she thrashed him severely, and his older brothers told their sister to try her newly acquired power. She passed behind the old woman; by so doing she extracted to herself the latter's spirit without making even the motion of taking anything, and without the victim being aware of her loss. [illegible] stuck the supernatural element on a stick, as one spits a potato, and threw it on the heap of excrement piled up behind the house. Presently, when the woman wished to use the convenience, she took a stick with the intention of breaking it for sanitary use. She went to the platform for the purpose but it broke beneath her and she fell; the stick she was carrying pierced her heart and she died. The accident was, of course, due to the loss of her spirit. The five brothers were delighted with the realization that their sister was really as powerful as the supernatural one had said she would be.

The boys next told their sister to slay the principal chief, who had instructed a servant to kill their parents. [illegible] went behind him and extracted his spirit to herself; she broke it between her hands and presently the owner fell dead. Though secretly delighted, the brothers thought it wise to appear grieved, and accordingly sent [illegible] to weep. As he was doing so, a kindly old woman patted him on the head, saying:

"Don't distress yourself, little boy. It is the man who killed your parents who is now himself dead."

But she had no idea that it was one of the orphans who had caused his death. Within a few days [illegible] captured and destroyed the spirits of two other chiefs who had had a part in the slaying of her parents; in each case the man died within a few hours of his loss. These four deaths so worried the people of [illegible] that all the chiefs determined to leave, since the epidemic, whatever it was, seemed to kill only those of importance. They took down the cedar boards forming the walls of the houses, piled them on canoes and made ready for departure, taking no heed for the poor people, including the six orphans, who were left destitute.

[illegible] McIlwraith [illegible] ([illegible]) [illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible] agreed to wait for [illegible] the [illegible] as they were [illegible] themselves in preparations for leaving, and then to [illegible] the spirit of every one of the party. As they paddled off from the shore, she put them on a board which she set afloat behind them. It capsized in the first rapids, [illegible] the various spirits, and presently the canoes were [illegible] and their occupants all drowned. The six orphans continued to live at [illegible] where they intermarried with the poor people and in time the village increased in population and fully regained its old importance.

This myth has many points of resemblance with those described in vol. I, chap. [illegible]. Each of the six orphans, and especially [illegible], received the boon of supernatural good fortune, but the powers given to the five took the form of a [illegible] prerogative. The names so received are either in use at the present time or have but recently become dormant. [illegible] was used by the father's brother of the woman who related the story; [illegible] now belongs to her son, a boy about eight years old; [illegible] is the property of another youth, related to the family; [illegible] has been lent to a friend, subject to recall at any time, and [illegible] is used by a girl relative about twenty years of age. Each of these has the prerogative of carrying out the dance given to their ancestor at [illegible], long ago.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE [illegible] AT THE [illegible] [illegible][illegible]

In the beginning [illegible] sent down to a point on the upper reaches of the [illegible] four brothers, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible] with several sisters whose names have been forgotten. They thought they were the first to reach this earth but presently, to their sorrow, saw [illegible], a man who had preceded them, and the brothers cried bitterly in their mortification. [illegible] had given [illegible] [illegible] power which he now used as he rubbed his hands over the [illegible] to carry away their [illegible].

"Become logs," he said, as he held the palms of his [illegible] hands towards the [illegible] of the [illegible] of people.

[72.1]

That is why there are thick logs in the vicinity of [illegible] to the present day.

[115]

[illegible] and his relatives moved a short distance down the valley

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[illegible] Related by [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 424 575* 746* 539 [825]

[illegible] [532]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] McIlwraith [illegible] (1922-1924) [illegible]
[illegible]

424 amazed watched until the unfortunate [illegible] had almost vanished
575 from sight. Then a sound betrayed her to [illegible].
776 "If you are a mortal," she said, "come in."
534 The woman did so, and [illegible] continued.

"I am [illegible]. You have found me, hence I give you a kusiut dance prerogative. You will have [illegible] as patron."

The woman returned to her home, where she performed a kusiut rite in which she portrayed the sinking of [illegible] into the earth.

ORIGIN MYTH OF A [illegible]

In the beginning of time there came down to [illegible], a point a little distance below [illegible], a woman whose name was [illegible]. Alquntam had given her a kusiut prerogative with a peculiar [illegible] in four parts, so [illegible] in either hand. Their names were [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible]. When she [776] danced she wore a wooden head-dress representing [illegible], and the [534] words used (her patron?) were the sun when it is red, and at night. This dance has since been carried out from generation to generation by the women of the name [illegible].

Kusiut Prerogatives Other Than Dances

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575 The most valuable possession of a kusiut is the dance which he has the right to perform, but each member of the society has,
776 in addition, a somewhat peculiar object, sometimes material and sometimes intangible, known as a [illegible] or [illegible]. The meaning of these two terms will become evident in the description of their uses; meanwhile they can be termed "prerogatives." With every call, this possession of the dancer's comes [187] automatically to him, though it can also be conveyed to him by other means and without a call. There is no connection between the patron and the prerogative; for example, one kusiut who has one of the sons of Alquntam as the former has, as the latter, the Hummingbird. Another may have Fog, Sleep, a Snake, or one of many other objects, animate or inanimate. The "patron-puppets" described in kusiut rites belong to this class.

In almost every case the origin is lost in antiquity, and the owner knows only that it belongs with his dance.

Few prerogatives are used when the uninitiated are present; 424 ●
they are essentially secret but provide considerable amusement 575 *
and are a welcome interlude in the serious rites. When the 796 *
prerogative is made visible, carpenters must be employed to 183
make it, and be paid for their work; hence this part of the
ceremonial is often omitted. When no handicraft is required, [592]
it is more frequently called into play, but even in such cases its employment is not universal. Not being an essential part of the *kusiut* rites, the use or omission of a prerogative is a matter which concerns the dancer alone, and he acts strictly in accordance with his own wishes whether or not he desires the ceremony to be accompanied by every possible show. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the relative frequency of employment, but it is probable that prerogatives of the type under consideration are used in about one-third of the *kusiut* ceremonials.

If a dancer decides to display a material prerogative, he 424
consults with a carpenter before the coming of his call and asks 575 *
him to make, for example, a wooden Hummingbird. On the 796 *
night of [illegible], when all the *kukusiut* are present, the bird 787
is seen to move across the back-wall of the house, pulled by
concealed strings. The dancer rushes to it and appears to [592]
catch it, in reality hiding it beneath his clothing. The women drum and the heralds announce to the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses what has taken place. Carefully holding his hands cupped, as if clutching something of great value, the dancer moves to the rear of the house and returns the bird to the land above by throwing his hands upwards while the *kukusiut* call out [illegible]. This is the usual procedure when the prerogative is a bird, a small mammal, or a reptile. The same ceremonial is often repeated on the night of *[illegible]*, particularly if the ritual proper to the occasion does not suffice to occupy the requisite time. If the prerogative is immaterial, the ritual differs. For example, when it is Fog, the dancer stretches his hands upwards, as if receiving something from above, and then makes the motion of throwing this "some-

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thing" into one of his companions. The recipient acts as if blinded, staggering around the house and colliding with articles of furniture or his fellows. One after another receives the same present, until perhaps half the company are acting as if moving in a dense mist. Sometimes they reel from the house, falling into bushes and walking into the walls of other houses, as if deprived not only of sight but also of all sense of direction. The prerogative of Fog was given to *[illegible]* (II, p. 544), but many other *kukusiut* enjoy the same right from other sources. After a short interval, the dancer goes to the victim and makes the motion of drawing something from him, thus restoring his sight and sanity. Fog is then returned aloft in the manner described for a Hummingbird.

When first told of this custom, difficulty was experienced in visualizing the attitude of the *kukusiut* to what they realize is a mere dramatization, lacking the presence of the uninitiated to give it zest and purpose. When several performances of this type had been witnessed, the difficulty vanished. The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the spirit of the affair, regarding it as a game, and yet as a game in which they must acquit themselves creditably. Each recipient endeavours to excel his fellows in the realism of his performance, and his blind staggers never fail to cause merriment. The Bella Coola delight in acting, and this is an occasion on which they can indulge their tastes to the utmost, without fear of disaster if an error should occur, such as hampers them in the presence of the uninitiated. Moreover, each strives to assist the performer, and these two reasons combine to make the whole a success.

[522]

Although these prerogatives are often used on the nights of *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*, the time most suitable for their appearance is during the ritual of *[illegible]*, which may be translated as, "The Restful Ceremony." The Bella Coola say that the word is derived from *[illegible]*, a pillow, and that the meaning of *[illegible]* is a ceremony of "Pillowness," that is, resting, combined with pleasant relaxation. In spite of the number

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of prerogatives, it sometimes happens that a week or more elapses without a *kusiut* wishing to perform. In such a case the marshals instruct the heralds to summon the *kukusiut* for the Restful Ceremony to a house from which the uninitiated have been expelled. When all have assembled, the singers beat out the song of any *kusiut* and the audience joins in, although the owner does not dance. Song after song is repeated, the singers choosing particularly those which they fear may be forgotten. The uninitiated, who hear the singing from the adjacent houses, wonder what it may signify. The marshals arrange with a *kusiut* willing to receive his prerogative, and soon after midnight this person puts on a ceremonial collar, even though no call has come to him, and is ready to play his part. Sticks are distributed and one of the singers leads the audience in frenzied beating. This suffices to bring the intangible prerogative to the willing *kusiut*, who makes the motions of catching something in his outstretched hands while the women drum. Amid the continued pounding of sticks, the dancer circles the house and presently throws what he has received to one of his fellows. The actions of the recipient of Fog have already been described, but there are intangible prerogatives of other kinds. One of these is Rabbit; the owner hops in imitation of the animal to any *kusiut*, presses his cupped hands against the other's chest, and the latter likewise begins to hop. He in turn passes it to a third, he to a fourth, until finally the owner withdraws his prerogative and returns it above. The *kukusiut* become so interested that they often forget to continue the beating of sticks, a matter of no importance since no uninitiated are present. No one offered the prerogative from the owner ever declines; to do so would expose him to ridicule and a refusal is unthinkable according to an elderly Bella Coola. Another prerogative of the same type is an Adze, in which case the possessor pretends to be using that tool. When finally withdrawn by the rightful owner, he often makes the motion of throwing it on a rafter instead of sending it back above; in this case it can be used

424 again later in the season without being brought from above.
575 A Bat prerogative impels the owner, and likewise the temporary possessor, to move lightly to and fro like a bat; it can
746 be thrown from one side of the house to the other, and is
787 "caught" with arms stretched far above the head. Sleep, like Fog, can be projected into a number of individuals simultaneously, and causes all to slumber; while Anger causes everyone to fight with his neighbour. Still another prerogative of the same class is Rain. Some dancers have Bull-roarers, as is also true for some sacred dancers. Details of their use were unobtainable.

Although these prerogatives always amuse and please the *kukusiut*, they also have two serious aspects. The insertion of one strengthens a *kusiut*, and in the case of a Cannibal, Scratcher, or Breaker causes him to become frenzied. Whenever this happens he rushes forth to all the houses, frightening the uninitiated, always attended by a band of *kukusiut*. Moreover, the injection of a prerogative so stimulates a *kusiut* that he is more liable to receive a call. As many as fifty *kukusiut* may have prerogatives of this type thrust into them during a single "Bazaar Ceremony." Of course not all of them receive calls, but one or more of them is likely to do so. The writer endeavoured to investigate the attitude of the Bella Coola on this point. Only *kukusiut* are concerned, since they alone can have this power inserted into them. They realize the deceptions practised by the society, and no individual interviewed claimed to have been so strengthened that he received a call, yet all stated that this had been the case with others. There is no doubt that the projection of a prerogative directs the recipient's attention to *kusiut* matters, and may often lead him to the point of giving his dance. In any event, the "Bazaar Ceremony" gives the marshals an opportunity to stimulate the interest of the members of the society, and to impress on them the desirability of dancing. The uses of "prerogative-puppets" have already been described.

In addition to these prerogatives, which normally remain

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in the land above and come to their owners only on special occasions, there are four of similar type considered to remain constantly within the possessor's body from the time of his admission, with respect to the name with which the right is associated. One of them, the use of crystals for initiation purposes, has already been described. The others are [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible], all untranslatable terms.

One use to which the first of these prerogatives is put is to encourage the *kukusiut* to hasten to the house in which a ceremony is taking place. Delay is part and parcel of all dances, but particularly on [illegible] and [illegible] the *kukusiut* are often very slow in arriving. In such a case the dancer himself, one of his friends, or a marshal, may ask the owner of a [illegible] prerogative to perform. It will be convenient to refer to this *kusiut*, who may be man or woman, as X.

The uninitiated have been told that X carries in his right hand a rock crystal which he can thrust into anyone through the arm. The *kukusiut* do not share the belief, but they have acted for so long as if they did, that it is probable that they almost place credence in it themselves. When X performs, he leaves the dancer's house and goes in a crouching attitude, yelling fiercely, to the lowest house of the village. As he enters, the uninitiated flee to the bed-rooms, but peer curiously and fearfully through the cracks. X rushes to and fro, still crouching, while the *kukusiut* appear to be trying to avoid him, but at last he seizes either a man or a woman. In spite of his victim's well-simulated struggles, X makes the motion of thrusting something into him, whereupon the person cries out as if in pain and pretends to be unconscious. *Away* rushes X, enters the next dwelling, and does the same. This is repeated in every house in the village. As they go to the house in which the ceremony is taking place, the victims pretend to be suffering from a stomach-ache, caused by the foreign substance within them, and this pretence is maintained after their arrival. After some delay, X takes a stick and beats furiously four or five times with it, while the singers accompany

424 him with sticks and drums. Following another pause, he does
575 this once more, causing the return to him of the crystals. The
776 heralds visit the different houses to report what has taken
787 place and the regular ritual of the evening continues in due course.

Occasionally the [illegible] ritual is elaborated to impress the uninitiated. Within this century a woman received a crystal in this manner and, as nonmembers were told, it became stuck so that the owner could not recall it. In this case two *kukusiut* were in grief; the woman who had lost her crystal, and the one who had it within her body. The former went from house to house for several days, weeping and asking that the *kukusiut* insert their prerogatives into the possessor's body to drive out the crystal, while the sufferer maintained a crouched attitude as if in intense agony. Her home was in *[illegible]*, but she went even to *[illegible]* to see whether the *kukusiut* there could not help her. Meanwhile the uninitiated were both amused and impressed. After several days the marshals of the two villages decided to try in unison to force out the crystal. It was day-time, and they gathered around the stricken woman in an open space between the two villages, while the uninitiated peered with interest from the background. One *kusiut* after another called his intangible prerogative to himself and passed it into the sufferer and after each insertion the owner of the crystal tried to withdraw it, but without avail. After each failure, the one who had used his possession recalled it to himself by pressing with cupped hands and calls of *[illegible]*, then sent it back above. Throughout the ceremony, a man with a loud voice kept informing non-members which prerogative was being tried. At the insertion of Anta, and again of *[illegible]*, the sufferer smiled, but the owner of the crystal could not bring it forth. It had been decided that a Bird-[illegible] was to be the successful prerogative, and when this was inserted by its owner, the woman staggered, fell, and rolled wildly on the ground, her arms and legs flying apart in all directions. Then the joyful owner was able to draw back her crystal and the sick woman at once recovered. 424 575*

Another prerogative of the same nature is *isadilta*. As the *kukusiut* are gathering and before the main ceremonial of the evening, the man or woman with this prerogative can display it if he so desires. He stands up, stamps, then bends down and begins to beat with a stick on the floor; the singers, who know what is to take place, quickly join in. This serves to concentrate the performer's power, consisting of the ability to scratch the external genital organs. The sticks continue to sound as the performer moves about the house, acting in accordance with his right, and at the same time rolling his eyes and licking his lips. Choosing either man or woman as he desires, he calls out his name, and the person addressed must come forward to take his hands. The power is thus transmitted and the one so chosen begins to scratch, with the same accompaniment of rolling eyes and licking lips. 796* 787

"It is sweet," he cries.

The power is then returned to the owner, who later passes it to another victim, until the marshals decide it is time to proceed to the main rites of the evening. The use of this prerogative is a source of never-ending amusement to the *kukusiut*. The only explanation given of this somewhat peculiar ability is that it is practised by the supernatural beings in the land above. Like every other *kusiut* rite, it can be performed only by a person who owns a name in which it is embodied. [522] [776]

kas'mota, the third of these prerogatives, is to imitate the action of holding sexual intercourse. Like the last, its use is limited to the house in which a dance is taking place, and can be carried out only while the audience is waiting for the main ceremony. The performer, man or woman, stands up with a rope pressed close across his stomach, held with hands clenched at the hips. It is said that in this position nothing can pass behind him. The singers and other *kukusiut* begin to beat time to concentrate the actor's power as he stamps around in a crouching posture, crying *haiß* and shaking his hips. Pre- 424 575* 796* 787 831 522

424 sently he begins to grunt, and calls the name of either a man
or a woman. The person so designated must take the per-
575 former's hands, thus assimilating his power, and in his turn
796 begins to shake and grunt, amid the laughter of all. Presently
787 the "gift" is returned, and later passed to another recipient.
Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her
831 hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some
522 time the owner draws his power to himself and the main cere-
[776] mony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural
beings above perform *sis'aok*.

The Death of a *Kusiut*

575 A detailed description of *kusiut* dances and ritual has now
766 been given, but certain special features still remain. One of
796 these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member
989 of the society. In dances which are completed in four days, there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is by no means uncommon during the long seclusion of a Cannibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask representing the patron of the dead man is hung in the house behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done. From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The marshals discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some *kusiut*, a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the grave and buried, while the *kukusiut* sing the dead person's song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a Cannibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is allowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that the *kukusiut* are still waiting and watching for his return.

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575 sticks, while everyone calls out, *hoip*. This is repeated four
796 times. The sticks continue to sound irregularly as the younger
[787] men pull the enclosure to pieces and throw it on the central fire. By these means the *kukusiut* have been freed from their contact with the supernatural and, perhaps even more important, the repositories have been "tied up," to use the native term, for another year. Those members of the society whose dances have taken place in the house now wash the black from their faces and all share a light meal. The marshals take this last opportunity of addressing their fellows, impressing on them the necessity of maintaining the secrecy of the rites during the summer season. Above all, they warn them to hide the whistles and other paraphernalia most carefully. This concludes the season's ceremony in the house in question; some of the *kukusiut* withdraw, others remain, and the uninitiated are free to enter and take up the old threads of family life, as it was before the coming of the first call.

If it is not too late at night the party may move to a second house and remove the taboo from it in the same way. More often this is done on the following night, when a second body of *kukusiut* are allowed to wash. Another house is visited on the next evening, and so on in succession till all the enclosures are burnt and the only visible mark of what has happened is the collar of dyed cedar-bark worn by each novice.

[824] There may be certain prerogatives connected with this finale which could not be learnt owing to its discontinuance for many years. In fact, one old woman claimed to have a definite right to sing at the destruction of the enclosures, but it was unfortunately impossible to investigate the matter.

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Concluding Observations and History

796 It is virtually impossible to overestimate the importance
182 of the sociological aspects of the society. During the cere-
571 monial season the whole fabric of social life is altered; families are divided, parents and children being separated in many

with such powers that they killed one another in their per- 575*
formances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the 796*
winter months, and merely to imitate the actions which had 173
been previously carried out.

There are other traditions, probably with an historical 575*
basis, describing conflicts with the *a'alk*. The Bella Coola say 578
that long, long ago there were not enough *kusiut* names for 173
more than the old people to be admitted to the society, and
that though members were regarded as having supernatural [624
powers, yet the *a'alk*, confident in their numbers and strength,
used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *kusiut*. On 551]
one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast
of smoked goat flesh for themselves, the *a'alk* collected their
weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *kusiut*,
furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took
revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals
and Scratchers when frenzied. It is said that even recently [431]
if the *kusiut* did not invite the *a'alk* to one of their dances,
they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the
food as a present.

Sometimes the *a'alk*, collectively, were bold enough to kill 575*
a *kusiut*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance 578
house. Or other motives might be strong enough to outweigh 682
respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief,
who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife,
who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a
Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his bear-spear and
slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a
frenzied rampage of the village. *Kusiut*, both from that
village and others in the vicinity, combined to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was
a professional killer.

Success did not always come to the *kusiut* in quarrels 575*
between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *a'alk* 578
were invited to a potlatch in a village in the upper Bella Coola
valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they 796*

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE8 Bellacoola NE

126 text, although they are obvious on the phonograph record.
145 In singing, moreover, sounds, especially vowel sounds, a
*533 altered to fit the tune, a factor which accounts for furthe discrepancies between record and text. A frequent device reduplication, a word or group of words is repeated in singi when not called for in the spoken version. Finally one sou occurs in singing which is practically unknown in speaking, value s (recorded as [illegible]) which gives a whistling effect. Ma choruses and some whole songs consist of meaningless sound in such cases the tune alone is important and no attempt w made to record the syllables.

It was quite as difficult to obtain interpretations as record texts. Songs which have been handed down for gener tions abound in archaic expressions which are meaningle even to the older men; some recently composed are full metaphorical devices to conceal their real significance from t uninitiated. The result is consequently a series of words whic taken one at a time, convey no meaning. In many cases it w impossible to obtain literal translations, even with the willi assistance of younger men familiar with English. Every eff was made to get the general meaning, and it is felt that th object was tolerably achieved, though the transcriptions m not be sufficiently accurate for grammatical analysis.

*534 Singers function at every ceremony; in fact, its succe
*946 depends so largely upon their efforts that they are alwa
*375 important members of the community. Some singers a created by the validation of an ancestral prerogative; othe
554 by having composed a suitable tune. The young man who h done so, calls one of the established musicians aside and hu
426 it to him; if the hearer is favourably impressed, he may le and repeat it to his fellows, and if it wins their approval, t
393 composer may be asked to join their ranks for the occasion which it is to be used. Thus encouraged, the young man likely to try again, or he may be invited to assist at an ceremony for which a large number of singers is required. proficient, he is certain to win recognition in course of tim

until it is accepted by all that he is one of the men who should 533*
be called upon to take part in all rites. If possible, he endeavours 796*
to legalise his position by a distribution of presents. 575*
Men are always eager to become singers, both for fame and for [555]
emoluments.

New songs are required every year for *sisauk* and *kusiut* [424]
dances, necessitating an almost limitless number of compositions. Singers frequently make use of fragments of old tunes, or snatches from half-forgotten songs, but they are ridiculed as inefficient if the plagiarism be too obvious. Tunes are always prepared in advance; in fact, proficient composers spend much of their time at all seasons of the year in humming over to themselves possible combinations. When word is passed around that a song is required, they meet in some lonely spot and each who has one in readiness hums it, tapping a gentle accompaniment. After considerable discussion, one is selected as being the most suitable and the singers make themselves familiar with it. Words are then put to it, consisting of fragments from the ancestral myth of the person for whom it has been prepared, or from some other theme appropriate to the occasion. Sometimes this is done by the composer of the tune; sometimes by another singer more familiar with the subject. The provision of words is considered less difficult and less important than the composition of a tune; no one knows the source of inspiration for the latter, but the former is said to come from either the heart or the head. All ceremonial songs are divided into three sections; *kalalo s* or first part, *ao'ko'il* or second part, and *âlos* or third part, separated from one another by the *siatnâlos*, wordless chorus. The three parts correspond, approximately, to verses and each contains four, rarely six, subdivisions. In mourning songs there are sometimes as many as six or eight *âlos*, and the whole is correspondingly lengthened.

On the night of a ceremony, the singers always take their
places beforehand for a final rehearsal. Each brings his own [534]
beating-stick, a stout baton about two feet long to pound on
the floor in time with his singing. The only other musical

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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
eagle down on his head(f)	ye children	of chiefs.

[illegible]
[meaningless concluding burden.]

(a) For some unexplained reason this song has been used without change for three generations. It was composed for a certain *Ąnkomg*, willed by him to *W'ᵋaula*, who transmitted it to the present user. [424 428]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 22, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) All suffixes of *dai* should probably be *dais*, but in singing the final *s* sound is usually indistinguishable and has accordingly been omitted throughout. The *d* sound is often sung as *t* but the one spelling has been used consistently. [149]

(d) The wordless chorus of this song consists of a series of groans which are said to be the voice of a heron, the crest of *W'ᵋaula*.

(e) The meaning of this is: What my grandfather brought down.

(f) The grandfather of *W'ᵋaula* had willed to him the right to use this crest. [424 428]

(g) The man from whom this song was obtained did not know what was the crest of *W'ᵋaula*. He judged from the text that it must have been the heron, although this is not one of the generally recognized birds.

(h) Meaning: The heron which has failed to jab its prey. When this song was used, a masked figure of a heron appeared and stabbed several of the spectators, who were later reimbursed for having permitted a prerogative to be displayed. [431 424]

(i) An ambiguous expression for presents.

Song of Apalais of Kimsquit when Initiated into the Kusiut Society(a)

A [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Be of good courage	ye of the potlatch(b).	Use up and down(c)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
your land.	They have met with an accident(d),	the heron being flooded (e).

[meaningless chorus]

B [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Watch their faces (to see)	whom will become ashamed	when rises to flood
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
the Kimsquit River(f).	They who are chiefs (g)	will prepare their biggest canoe.

[meaningless chorus]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 12a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) The wording shows that the song was to be used at a potlatch.

(c) Meaning: Make use of it in all directions.

(c) An incident in the dancer's ancestral myth; one of his forefathers succeeded in shaming a rival chief. 593*

(d) Many origin myths describe houses, provided by *Alquntam* for the first ancestors, which expanded of their own accord to accommodate guests at potlatches. The reference is to one of these, although it was impossible to record the myth itself. [773]

Song Used for Kusiut of Kimsquit(a)

A *[illegible]* Room yourselves for it,	*[illegible]* ye outsiders!	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]* for which is my supernatural being(b).

[illegible]

B *[illegible]* At the bottom(c)	*[illegible]* the fish comes(d)	*[illegible]* sorted himself	*[illegible]* of our provided food(e).

[illegible]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 86, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. Kusiut was his mother's brother.
(b) The dancer's associates are invited to gather to witness his performance.
(c) That is: The mouth.
(d) Referring to one of the dancer's earliest ancestors.
(e) The reference is to the Kimsquit River which teems with eulachon; the dancer describes the fish as the food provided for his ancestral family by *Alquntam*.

Song Used for Kusiut of Kimsquit (a)

A = B(b) *[illegible]* Go out and see,	*[illegible]* ye outsiders!	*[illegible]* It is apparent(c)
[illegible] what travels everywhere(d),	*[illegible]* what brings our food(e)	*[illegible]* from its home(f).

[illegible]

C *[illegible]* That is	*[illegible]* the chief	*[illegible]* *[illegible]*	*[illegible]* he carries a heavy burden(h)
[illegible] in his canoe	*[illegible]* from his land.		

[776
424]

(a) Recorded on song VII D 8[illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Only two of the three parts are remembered.
(c) The actual meaning of *[illegible]* is: What is Apparent. Its use in this case is, therefore, an untranslatable pun.

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(d) A somewhat boastful reference to the power of the dancer's totemism.
(e) Another arrogant reference to the totemism.
(f) In Bella Bella.
(g) This is a Bella Bella being of whom little is known by the Bella Coola. The right to use him as totemism came from a remote ancestor.
(h) Presumably, the dancer's right to perform.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible], a Kimsquit Man(a)

A [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Protect your faces,	you quiet people!	It always shooting arrows

[illegible]
my crest(b).

[SEVERAL LINES OMITTED]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

[SEVERAL LINES OMITTED]

[illegible]	[illegible]
Don't do that,	they will cover us with valuables(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be an extremely ancient one, used by some of the earliest settlers; the tune is said to be entirely different from any recent vocal compositions.

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(b) The dancer's crest was the wasp, an insect which is believed to sting by the discharge of invisible, minute arrows. This admonition to the guests to hide their faces was, of course, a boasting reference to the goods which would be distributed at the approaching potlatch. None of the first settlers was sent down to earth as a wasp, but several, including [illegible], were guided and assisted by these insects to such an extent that they have been regarded as crests.

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(c) It is customary, when quoting this song, to add this final remark. It is related that, many years ago, a Kimsquit man used his wasp prerogative, but was shamed at the potlatch by being smothered with goods from a rival. Since that time, none of his descendants has dared to use the right and the admonition against doing so has become almost proverbial.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

A [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
We all go	to see(b).	He(c) informs us	of what he carries.

B and *C* No more of this song is remembered, though it was used at a potlatch about 1900.

(a) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.
(b) Meaning: To gaze upon something supernatural.
(c) An unnamed supernatural being.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible], a Man of Salmon House(a)

533*

[illegible]	[illegible]
Whence came those(b)	who were too late?

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) Refers to guests at the potlatch.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I am happy at seeing you(b),	I am happy at seeing you,	good-bye(c).

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) Presumably refers to the dancer's *totem*, Beaver, obtained from his mother's mother, a Kitlobe woman. [424]

(c) This word is said to be in the Haida language.

Song(a) Used for [illegible](b) of Kimsquit(c)

A [illegible]	[illegible](d)
I make two of myself(e),	Raven(f).

[illegible]	[illegible]
I make a huge whale of myself,	Raven,

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
at the place of lucky finds (g).	People will dismember me,	I make a huge whale of myself(h).

[wordless chorus]

B [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I stand upon	my point(i);	I cry out loudly(j)

[illegible]
with respect to my position as chief.

[wordless chorus]

C [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Go yourselves!	Pick out what you want!	My house	is open(k).

(a) It is doubtful whether or not this song should be included in this section. It was used by a professional warrior at a potlatch but, like all others with his

[701]
[575]
[424]

*533 [701] prerogative, he was debarred from seclusion in the back-room and consequent initiation as a *susaok*. The exact relationship between warriors and members of the *susaok* society is obscure.

[575] [424] [177] (*b*) *Laxaiyaa·k'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to Kitlobe where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants. One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed down from generation to generation though its original source has not been forgotten.

(*c*) Recorded as song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(*d*) Vocative form.

(*e*) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] (*f*) *Qowi* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

[262] (*g*) The home of the first *Laxaiyaa·k'* was near a point where dead whales often drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(*h*) Such repetition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(*i*) A promontory owned by the first *Laxaiyaa·k'*.

(*j*) That is: I summon people [to a feast.]

(*k*) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe·tla Songs

The tunes of *xe·tla* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of cere-[796]monials in which they were used, few *xe·tla* songs are now remembered.

Xe·tla Song Used by Sinagal of Kimsquit(a)

[727]

A *Alinaymaa*	*Ahleumaľ aihdai*	*Di staltaiamgdai*	*ditnuikait*
Come!	See!	The chief	a man stands in the bow(*b*)

di yälsatsaľ aihdai
of those who travelled everywhere.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Alaiqwalnagaasts*	*dit'anuxulsilsdut*	*aiyattiyamthaldus*
He did so,	my pattern(*c*),	whence I came(*d*);

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bered, but the rites in which they were used have been practically discontinued for several years so that unabridged versions are almost impossible to obtain. Their themes vary according to the ceremonies in which they are used. For potlatches, they consist of incidents from ancestral myths, whereas for non-ceremonial occasions following the *kusiut* season, they deal with current events. The following examples are divided into these two classes.

THEMES DRAWN FROM ANCESTRAL MYTHS

[illegible] Song Used for [illegible], a Rite of [illegible](a)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
They give valuable counsel, | my goods(b), | they formulate their own opinion

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
concerning to whom of those seated in my house I shall give presents(c).

[sentence omitted]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
I speak boldly | of everything(d). | Through them(e)

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
I become elevated, | my power to give potlatches (e) | my rank relatives(f).

[sentence omitted]

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Presently I shall stand | within the box | at the corner door(g),

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
where friend to all(?) | the corner of the(?) | of [illegible](h).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) That is: The goods which I am about to distribute advise me. This statement is not to be taken literally.

(c) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.

(d) Refers to the dancer's many prerogatives.

(e) Refers to his rank relatives.

(f) The dancer had obtained several prerogatives from ancestors, traced paternally.

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(g) A reference to the dancer's origin myth (I, p. [illegible]). The house of his first forefather, [illegible], had its door in a back corner instead of the centre front.

(h) That is: Wherever were distributed at potlatches.

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(1) Brought from [illegible] as a present from [illegible].
(2) One of the dancer's first [illegible].
(3) Combined themes such as this, referring both to the approaching [illegible] and the dancer's origin myth, are common at potlatches and [illegible].

[illegible] Song [illegible] for [illegible]

A [illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible].
Presently the people who lack prerogatives will [illegible](*b*) what I possess. [illegible]

[illegible] || [illegible]
[illegible], it is [illegible](*c*).

([illegible] repeated)

B [illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible]
In the beginning there came down || [illegible](*d*) || with his [illegible](*e*)

[illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible]
He gave himself || at the mouth || of the "Heavy One"(*f*).

([illegible] repeated)

C The last part has been forgotten(*g*).

(*a*) Recorded as song [illegible], National Museum of Canada, singer, [illegible].
(*b*) The word [illegible], which is translated as [illegible], is used only for the dances of ancestral prerogatives which can never be obtained except by those who are members of the ancestral family concerned.
(*c*) It was impossible to obtain literal translations of the subdivisions.
(*d*) A name which [illegible] (I, p. [illegible]) took for himself on earth. It is claimed that the composers of this song erred in using this designation.
(*e*) [illegible] came down to the [illegible] River, but the grandiloquent phrasing expresses the sentiment that man and [illegible] came together.
(*f*) The [illegible] River is sometimes termed [illegible] to be [illegible]. This designation was obtained by [illegible] from [illegible], with the marriage to a woman of that tribe, and bestowed by him on the river.
(*g*) This song was used during the winter of [illegible] and nearly led to friction. It is claimed that the right to the name [illegible] was lost to a [illegible] man who failed to [illegible]. The [illegible] has been dead many years, but when [illegible] presented to them, one of the singers who was related to the original [illegible] refused to take part in the singing.

[illegible] Song [illegible] for a [illegible]

A [illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible]
I have obtained || the ancestral right || which displayed || my [illegible](*a*).

([illegible] repeated)

(1) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, [illegible].
(2) Possibly a reference to [illegible], the dancer's [illegible].
(3) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the [illegible] term in Chinook jargon for "[illegible]."
(4) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

Marriage Songs

In marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:
(1) Those used at weddings;
(2) Shaming songs used in connection with divorce rites.
The former are said to have been handed down from the beginning and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The last are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

WEDDING SONGS

(First Marriage Song(1))

[illegible] [illegible] they	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] when they brought
[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] from the place of light(3).	

(1) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, [illegible].
(2) [illegible] came down with [illegible] in the beginning of time, and brought [illegible] to [illegible], the prerogative of dancing at weddings. [illegible] an explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song in the cycle of [illegible].
(3) [illegible] refers to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of [illegible] married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from [illegible].

(Second Marriage Song(1))

[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] with his relatives
[illegible] [illegible].		

(1) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, [illegible].

(b) [illegible] came down from above with [illegible] in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*

(c) [illegible] came down with [illegible], bringing the same prerogative as [illegible]. 515

(d) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [773] [624]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[1]

[illegible] SONGS

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble sacred compositions and differ entirely from the elaborate and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions. 533* 516 578 [349]

Song Used for [illegible]

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
The no-good | [illegible] | [illegible](?) | [illegible], | he has taken with her

[illegible] | [illegible]
my child, [illegible](a), | he has taken with her(?). [109]

([illegible])

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
He knew, | [illegible](?), | when I speak of your ugliness(?);

[illegible] | [illegible]
you have had much trouble, | your [illegible] have become long and pendant.

([illegible])

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) This word means "The one [illegible] with the very [illegible]." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the children [illegible] at this [illegible]. [357] [359]

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[1] Two examples of such [illegible] songs were collected. These are song [illegible], National Museum of Canada, singer, [illegible], and song [illegible], National Museum of Canada, singer, [illegible].

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[illegible] Bella Coola [illegible]

(a) "The Benefiter." This is one of the appellations of the infant's parent, the name [illegible] because people [illegible] themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 539

(b) Recorded as song VII D 14a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the Kusiut season of 1923-4 at the initiation of [illegible], a female [illegible] related to [illegible]. [776]

(c) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's parent. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display "open" their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]

(d) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance [illegible]. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.

(e) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.

(f) Referring to the dead [illegible].

(g) "The Lifter." This is one of the many designations for Nusqalst, one of the dead man's crests.

(h) A reference to the supporting beam described in the dead man's origin myth. [778]

(i) One of [illegible]'s crests.

(j) This is another name for Nusqalst. The meaning of the whole part is [illegible] are those within the impossible house on Mount Nusqalst. There is the added implication that he sees himself as does the supernatural [illegible] in the land above.

NON-CEREMONIAL SONGS

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with love, others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B.[2] [776] [775]

LOVE SONGS

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the author of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will entertain the 539 192 424

[2] [See vol. II, pp. 543 to 527 - [illegible]]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

woman, he taking the leading part. Such songs are not private property. Women, likewise, compose songs about men, though these are usually of a mocking nature and are sung only by a group of girls when on a picnic or fern-gathering expedition.

[illegible] (see Song(a))

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
If you would(?) | go [illegible], | I would become a pin, | I would capture you.

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
If you went | to the moon, | I would become a half-bead(?) | I would capture you.

(a) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada, singer, [illegible]. This is said to be an ancient Bella Coola love song.
(b) [illegible]

[illegible] (see Song(a))

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
If you should go | to the land | of the half-beads,

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
I would change myself to a kingfisher, | I would dive down, | I would eat you.

(a) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada, singer, [illegible]. The singer composed this song about [illegible].

[illegible] (see Song(a))

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible]

e

CHAPTER [illegible]

STORIES

[illegible] Stories—Animal Stories—Family Stories—Supernatural Stories—Catastrophic Stories—Historical Stories

In addition to myths which have definite sociological importance, such as those which explain the possession of dances and other rituals, there are many legends which can best be described as stories.[1] These do not belong either to individuals or to families, consequently they are more widely known than allegedly historical accounts which are the personal property of ancestral groups. In the long winter evenings it is common to see an old man or woman surrounded by young boys and girls listening attentively to some tale. An outburst of laughter always accompanies a humorous incident, no matter how many times it may have been heard. The narration is a mere pastime, an amusement which seems never to pall either on raconteur or listener. Occasionally, a person of philosophical disposition will claim that a moral is taught by every story, and it is true that many of them point out some well-known experience of life, such as "The Brave Bit"[1]; [illegible] the humour, but any intentional didacticism is quite foreign to Bella Coola thought. 531 [illegible] 531

As will be seen, these stories contain a large number of fantastic episodes. The Bella Coola recognize this to be the case without doubting their truth. They describe events which took place long, long ago, when man and supernatural beings were in closer contact than at present, when man was able to understand the speech and actions of the birds, the mammals, and the fish. The people of today do not expect to have similar experiences now but, according to their point of view, there is no reason why the incidents of the stories could not have happened in the distant past. Frequently, different versions of the same legend are told by different men, each is

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[1] [illegible]

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APPENDIX D

[illegible]: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
[illegible]: Position between two fires.
[illegible]: 1—Ground bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Wizard(s)? [823]
[illegible]: To touch.
[illegible]: [illegible] handed down secretly in a family. [824]
[illegible]: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
[illegible]: Sacred song in slow time. [593]
[illegible]: 1—Box, privacy; family seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears. [825]
[illegible]: Rocky Mountain jay.
[illegible]: Carved house-post.
[illegible]: Wife of [illegible]; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
[illegible]: Expedition of the supernatural being [illegible] against herons and fish.
[illegible]: [illegible]'s fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants.
[illegible]: Only sister in a family of several brothers. [601]
[illegible]: Seals. [925]
[illegible]: Steaming in medicinal smoke as a curative measure. [755]
[illegible]: Fir.
[illegible]: Evil male supernatural being. [824]
[illegible]: 1—Death, see [illegible].
2—Dead. [823]
[illegible]: Kingfisher.
[illegible]: Fish-hook.
[illegible], "[illegible]": Supernatural beings resident in the land above. [827]
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible]: plural, [illegible]; [illegible] plural, [illegible].
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
[illegible]: [illegible] village.
[illegible]: [illegible] once mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "He Obtains One Himself." The implication is that this is an imitation of [illegible], hence the word really means [illegible]. It is the Kimsquit variant of [illegible]. [777]
[illegible]: Chant of death.
[illegible], "[illegible]"*: 1—Village at Kwatna.
2—Artificial mound at Talio.
3—Village on the Kimsquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
[illegible] see [illegible], "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Violent death. [825]

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*The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

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[illegible]: Tail.

[illegible]: [illegible]. 825

[illegible]: Black huckleberry. 824

[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible]: Ancestral name of the wife of [illegible] who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Pigeon.

[illegible]: Kitlope chief living in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: 1=Marriage, properly arranged and legalized. 685
2=The actual wedding day.

[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit woman.*

[illegible]: Bark bucket for holding liquids. 415

[illegible]: The making of [illegible] from a [illegible] [illegible] a curing ceremony.

[illegible]: Investment-property, i.e., one for which a return is expected. 826

[illegible]: Bark-mats in which [illegible] and others are [illegible].

[illegible]: Woman during ceremonies. 431

[illegible], "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first ancestors in the beginning of time. 824

[illegible]: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones. 812

[illegible]: Kusiut rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.

[illegible], "The Chosen": One who has been initiated as a member of the Kusiut society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a Kusiut or a [illegible] dance. 575

[illegible], "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a [illegible].

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one vision, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability. 756

[illegible]: Grandmother. 601

[illegible]: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.

[illegible]: Name given to their canoe by the first ancestors at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "The Wise One": One of [illegible]'s names as chief.

[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: 1=Cod. 826
2=Enormous cod-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest.

[illegible]: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts. 824

[illegible]: Red elderberry.

[illegible]: Wooden container used in the pounding of cedar bark. 413

[illegible]: Unidentified plant.

[illegible]: To tease dead salmon. 252

[illegible]: [illegible] to the [illegible] of [illegible] in place by physical assistance.

[illegible]: Locality on Dean Channel, west of [illegible].

[illegible]: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

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*This name appears to be an entirely different word from [illegible].

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[illegible]: Intangible Kusiut prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

[illegible]: Eagle supernatural dancer; in his associations he is a [illegible] mountain goat.

[illegible]: Four complete dances given by a Kusiut initiate. [825]

[illegible]: Mammal, any kind.

[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

[illegible]: 1=One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2=One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

[illegible]: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kusiut prerogative as a Brother; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

[illegible]: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, Kusiut masks are hung.

[illegible]: The making and use of hand nets for eulachon.

[illegible]: 1="The [illegible]"; One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2=Chiefs of a village, collectively; secondly, "The [illegible]."

[illegible]: 1=Ceremony at which sacred names are validated in the eyes of the fellow villagers. [553]
2=Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [716]

[illegible]: Assemblage of the Kusiut to practise difficult rites.

[illegible], "The One with Thick Pubic Hair"; [illegible] name given to a dancing wife.

[illegible]: One of the names of Raven as chief.

[illegible]: Sentence of death passed by the Kusiut on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

[illegible]: A loss, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

[illegible], "Inhospitable"; Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[illegible]: Table-knife.

[illegible]: Birch. [821]

[illegible]: Anthropomorphical cold wind.

[illegible]: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [769]

[illegible]: 1=High tide.
2=Long life. [823]

[illegible]: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold eulachon-net post steady while being driven.

[illegible], "Place of Foul Water"; Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[illegible]: 1=Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2=River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], an immortal supernatural woman.

[illegible]: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the activities of the [illegible] of the [illegible] dance.

[illegible]: Any ceremonial dance held at the conclusion of the burial [illegible]. [535]

[illegible]: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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[illegible]: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

[illegible]: Supernatural being who comes with *[illegible]* to bring a call to the latter's proteges. [614]

[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

[illegible]: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract.
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed. [826]

[illegible]: Table-fish.

[illegible]: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a distributing ceremony. [465]

[illegible]: Exchange marriage. [578]

[illegible]: Passages.

[illegible]: Place near *[illegible]*.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name granted by *[illegible]* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

[illegible]: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

[illegible], "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

[illegible]: Supernatural being who created mountains in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

[illegible]: House occupied by the first settlers at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

[illegible] or [illegible]: 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dried cedar-bark to *[illegible]*. [712]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

[illegible]: Male supernatural being who travels with *[illegible]*, takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

[illegible]: Mother Nature.

[illegible]: Fishermen with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching olachen. [424]

[illegible], "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural creatures having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [224] [761]

[illegible], "Where Water Extends": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: Professional name of a female dancer.

[illegible]: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

[illegible]: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible], "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the River": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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[919] [illegible]: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Anu'likwutsaix* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.
[illegible]: Omen of death.
[illegible], "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *[illegible]*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
[illegible]: 1—Man dwelling in [illegible]'s house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[illegible]: The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name assumed by a *Sisauk* woman in the beginning of time.
[424] [illegible]: *Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and [illegible] is obscure.
[illegible], "The Widower": One of Raven's names as chief.
[515] [illegible]: Synonym for *[illegible]*: Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
[illegible], "Heedlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[302] [illegible]: The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.
[illegible]: Medicine brewed in a skull.
[illegible], "Place of Much [illegible]": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: *[illegible]* name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
[805] [illegible]: One year.
[828] [illegible]: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.
[illegible], "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.
[illegible]: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.
[821] [illegible]: 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.
[827] [illegible]: Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.
[illegible]: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiutem* and other important *kusiut* rites.
[777] [illegible]: Unexpected stroke of good fortune.
[illegible]: *Sisauk* name of a Kimsquit man.
[772] [illegible]: Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.
[illegible]: The upper heaven.
[illegible]: Woman with thick pubic hair.
[illegible]: A *Sisauk* repository.
[illegible], "Where *[illegible]* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
[824] [illegible]: Cottonwood buds.
[illegible], "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Canoe-maker.
[illegible]: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *[illegible]*.
[535] [illegible]: Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.
[869]

Sinuqatl: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinusimātl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Siux* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sie'msta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

sipālpālosuts: Song sung by a *kusiutem* dancer on recovery from apparent death.

sipkim: Regular beatings given to a male child. [861]

Siqālpam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqalusnām: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxmaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqmaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqusek: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage.

sirasts: Departure to a new locality. [425]

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

sisut: Paddle.

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Sitlmsta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitliinq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, vocative, siaut: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts,* the large *sisaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutamkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutnāles: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siwal·os, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djoldāmx* chief living in the last century.

sixliktam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey.

Sixman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god. [484]
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsān·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsinqutnam: Synonym for *Mulakila,* the supernatural being connected with *sisaok* rites.

sixwismaq: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *ānānuskx,* for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwopāxkmak: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

sixwotl: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyutla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sieatla* may be connected with this.

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[illegible]: Devil's-club.
[illegible]: To lament communally, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
[illegible], "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a [illegible] chief about 1910. [965]
[illegible]: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
[illegible]: Arm. [824]
[illegible]: Splinters projecting upwards from the hole of a broken tree-trunk.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Chief of the spring salmon.
[illegible]: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
[illegible]: Mergansers. [825]
[illegible], "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the consummation of betrothal. [584]
[illegible]: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
[illegible]: [illegible] man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "Come To!": Call of invitation to a kusiut dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Cloud. [825]
[illegible]: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou.
[illegible]: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon. [412]
[illegible], [illegible], or [illegible]: 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final kusiut rite at end of the ceremonial season.
[illegible]: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
[illegible], "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": [illegible] name obtained in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: House used by a group of first settlers near [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Daughter of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Fungus. [824]
[illegible]: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark.
2—Ancient name of [illegible] head-dress. [415]
[illegible]: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
[illegible]: Rose.
[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. [825]
[illegible]: Wasp.
[illegible]: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
[illegible]: Name of house brought down by first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives. [601]
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Parent-in-law or child-in-law.
[illegible]: Suitable place in the river for setting olachen nets.
[illegible]: Game played with throwing stones.
[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some kukusiut in addition to a dance rite. [424]
[illegible]: River sculpin. [825]

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[765] *[illegible]*: 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *[illegible]*, "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

[illegible]: Professional *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *[illegible]* during *kusiut* dances.

[illegible]: Name.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] *[illegible]*: Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

[illegible]: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *[illegible]*: Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

[illegible]: Many, adjective.

[954] *[illegible]*, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *[illegible]*: Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden hoops and spears.

[illegible], vocative, *[illegible]*: Grandchild, the vocative indicating endearment.

[978] *[illegible]*: The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

[illegible]: Gall bladder.

[illegible]: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a sacred whistle, referred to as the breathing of *[illegible]*.

[illegible]: Chicken grouse.

[illegible]: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[778] 2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

[illegible]: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

[illegible]: The voice.

[824] *[illegible]*: Dried elderberries.

[illegible]: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
[821] 2—Bella Coola woman.

[illegible]: Eclipse.

[illegible]: 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.
[424] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist *kusiut* or *sisauk* dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god.

[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god.

[illegible]: 1—Synonym for *[illegible]*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *[illegible]*: A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Debris from cones eaten by squirrels.

[illegible], "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

[illegible], vocative, *[illegible]*: Friends.

182#

[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible]: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. 825
[illegible]: Animal's excreta.
[illegible]: Water of the [illegible], foretelling death. 763
[illegible]: Ceremony, in Bella Bella language.
[illegible]: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. 586
[illegible]: [illegible] Bay.
[illegible]: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. 431
2—Bald eagle.
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time. 825
[illegible]: [illegible], either doctor or shaman.
[illegible]: First night of a [illegible] dance.
[illegible]: 1—Heavy supports in [illegible]'s house.
2—Name obtained from these by a [illegible] man in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Kusiut rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. 415
[illegible]: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.
[illegible]: Any act of an uncleanness which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the [illegible]. 384
[illegible]: Presents distributed when a cannibal initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the cannibal and serve to recompense the companions and others who have assisted in the rite. 431 465
[illegible]: Bib.
[illegible]: North. 824
[illegible]: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. 431
[illegible]: Small woodpecker, species unidentified. 824
[illegible]: Winter wren.
[illegible]: Spawning sockeye salmon. 825
[illegible]: Intangible family prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitals. 424
[illegible]: Prompter.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time. 824
[illegible]: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked.
[illegible]: To grasp firmly with both hands, archaic. 825
[illegible]: Trout, plural.
[illegible]: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.
[illegible], "What Is Good": Synonym for [illegible], the repurchase of a wife from her husband. 583
[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible]: Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
[illegible]: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to assist and [illegible] initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
[illegible]: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

§ 172

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "A Coming up from Below into Plain Sight": Term used with reference to the obtaining of a call through the medium of [illegible].

[134] [illegible], "Whence We Came": A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[103] [illegible]: Old village near the head of [illegible] Channel, at the site of the present cannery on the opposite side of the [illegible] from [illegible] Cannery.

[illegible]: Tree, inhabited by souls, behind the supreme god's house.

[illegible]: Space in a house between [illegible] the end one of which [illegible] is.

[illegible]

[illegible], "Who Is Wanted Is Looking": Name assumed for himself by one of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

W

[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
4—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
5—Name of the Kimsquit River as a whole.
6—Small name of a Kimsquit man.

[706] [illegible]: 1—Coho salmon.
2—Name acquired by a man from coho salmon.

[illegible]: Man who descended to the [illegible] River in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2—Fraser River.

[illegible]: Village at Rivers Inlet. This word is in the Bella Bella language.

[123] [illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Lynx.

[578] [illegible]: Woman who has deserted her husband.

[illegible]: To express a desire concerning the disposal of one's goods after death.

[724] [illegible]: "I go."

[illegible], "The [illegible] of the Pond": Water-lily.

[illegible]: Name of [illegible]'s grandchild in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: 1—Rivers Inlet.
2—Collective term for the villages on its shores.

[illegible]: [illegible] name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible]: Celebrated dancer, central figure in an ancient tale.

[illegible]: Tribal name of one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.

[illegible]: Mountain near [illegible].

[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

[59?] [illegible]: Death in the house where a kusiut dance is taking place.

[illegible]: Mourning songs regarded as expressions of real, not ceremonial, grief.

[769] [illegible] ([illegible] Synonym for [illegible]): The sky.

Smith, H. I. (1920-1923)/1929 [illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]
Carrier [illegible]
Tsimshian [illegible]
Sekani. [illegible]

MATERIA MEDICA OF THE BELLA COOLA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Harlan I. Smith

INTRODUCTION

B E S [121] [97] [101] [131] B [124]

This paper describes therapeutic medicine of four tribes of British Columbia, the Bella Coola of Bella Coola valley, the Gitksan of Skeena river, the Carrier who live in the territory behind both of these tribes, and the Sikani of the headwaters of Peace river. Among the Bella Coola the medicines are largely family secrets known to a few individuals only, so that one family may use different remedies for the same specific complaint; but this is not the case among the other tribes. Exorcism and magical practices enter largely into the treatment of disease, but are not touched upon in this report. It was impossible for the Indians to diagnose many of their maladies, so the identifications given here are in many cases guesswork.

B 115 [97]

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1920-24 by [illegible] Sandy, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1848. As he did not speak English he gave the data in Chinook jargon, which has been interpreted and arranged in logical order. Sandy is an Indian doctor with great knowledge of the local plants and animals. He remembers when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley, and when the inhabitants saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently he can recall the old Bella Coola medicinal culture before it was much affected by European ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1920-23 by the late Captain Schooner, also, apparently, a full-blood, born about 1848, who used the Chinook jargon. Alec Davis, Alexander [illegible], Louis [illegible], and other Bella Coola Indians likewise gave information and corroboration.

C 115 C [198]

Most of the information relating to the Southern Carrier Indians of Ulkatcho was secured during 1920-1922 from Charlie West, alias Pretty Charlie or Handsome Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1871. Charlie used the peculiar form of broken or pidgeon English commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Carrier and Chilcotin Indians of this region.

S [127]

The information about the Sikani and the Northern Carriers of Hagwelget is from [illegible] field notes kindly supplied by Mr. D. Jenness.

T 115 T [191]

The information relating to the Gitksan was secured in 1925-26 from the late John Fowler and Abraham Fowler of Kitwanga, Luke Fowler and [illegible] Robinson of Hazelton, with additions and corroboration from a few others, all old Gitksan Indians, apparently full-blood. The information was secured mainly in English, although Abraham Fowler used also the Chinook jargon.

B E T 5 124 126

The method the writer employed was to submit specimens of the plants to his informants and question them concerning all their uses. Of the information thus obtained only the medicinal portion has been presented here. The plants were later identified by Mr. M. O. Malte, of the National Museum, Ottawa.

represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the 614
people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the
various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That 553
is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of
carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. 483
Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become 556
[illegible]. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is
given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. [illegible] [567]
[illegible], to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is
a member of the gens [illegible] of the [illegible], stated that he had [846]
received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch
he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale [115]
at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets
connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get some others
from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very
good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets
to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he 614
changes his name. Each person has two names, a [illegible] name, which 484
remains the same throughout life; and a [illegible] name, which is changed
at these festivals. Thus, [illegible] (which is his [illegible] name) 551
present [illegible] name is [illegible], but at his next potlatch he
intends to take the name of [illegible]. These names are also the property 556
of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of 575
gentes given above, the names enumerated are the [illegible] names of the
ancestors. In two cases only the [illegible] names have been ascertained 426
(see p. [illegible]). When a man possesses several [illegible] secrets he will dis-
tribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or 575
mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of
their [illegible] secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member 614
of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his [illegible]
secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it [426]
any more. The crest and the [illegible] carvings must not be loaned to
others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions
are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the
property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. 556
The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave 426
the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his
heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the
debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned,
and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who
performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given
by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow
part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was
told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and
burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which
he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died,
and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kū'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaûlikûtsai'x. 575
Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February 773
till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the
door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been 776
the first to find her. Anaûlikûtsai'x invited her into her cave and taught

575 her the secrets of the Kusiut. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the women to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kusiut. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kusiut.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kusiut. When a man has
776 seen Anulikutsai'x sitting before her house he will invite the people to a Kusiut. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the [illegible] house. Each Kusiut lasts three days.

575 The various dances performed by members of the Kusiut are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
[illegible] to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the Sisaok dance (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kusiut is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kusiut name, which he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kusiut names, which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of P'i'pst until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of [illegible]. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same
[552] way as the Sisaok, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kusiut have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] elaq'otla (the Hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the O'lx (the Nū'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dō'ts'a (the Nō'ntsistatl of the He'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kusiut novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the elaq'otla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[246] killed, in order to serve as food for the elaq'otla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the elaq'otla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

tradition of the Bella Coola as an explanation of the ceremonial. The only modification which I note in this tradition is that the Cannibal's role is described as [illegible] the bones of children [illegible] which I heard [illegible] at the mouth of [illegible].[1] He calls him [illegible], and in the Bella Coola dialect, [illegible].[2] This word is decidedly of Kwakiutl origin, meaning "the one who eats human flesh at the mouth of the river (or at the north end of the world)." Neither have I been able to find any mask representing this being among the Bella Coola tribe. The masks which they use in connection with the Cannibal ceremony are of quite a different character (Plate XII, Figs. [illegible]). I am the more inclined to think that Mr. Jacobsen did not clearly distinguish between the customs and traditions of various tribes, since he introduces "[illegible]" ([illegible]) in the traditions of the Bella Coola, while it is distinctively a legend of the Kwakiutl tribes of the extreme northwest of Vancouver Island. Jacobsen does not distinguish clearly between the sisau'k and the kusiut, stating that the kusiut dances are performed during the sisau'k in the same way as, among the Kwakiutl, a [illegible] may be [illegible] during the [illegible]. This may be, but theoretically the two ceremonials must be considered entirely distinct. According to the information which I received, sisau'k dances may be held in summer, in which case the kusiut could not possibly form part of the sisau'k ceremonial. When, on the other hand, the sisau'k takes place during the kusiut period, it would naturally be accompanied by kusiut dances.

As stated before, the sisau'k is a ceremonial in which the legend of the clan is illustrated by means of dramatic performances. At the same time valuable presents are distributed among the guests who are invited to witness the ceremonial. The value of the gifts amounts often to several thousand dollars. At this time the family legend is told in general outlines, but the details of the legend are kept a secret, and are transmitted only to those who are initiated in the sisau'k of the clan. It seems that we must consider the transmission of the sisau'k legend in the following manner: At any given time it is the property of the chief of the family, who, at the time of the celebration, transfers his rights to his successor, generally to his son. The full tradition is kept secret by the owner. It seems that there is a close analogy between the conditions prevailing in the northwest and those found among the southwestern Indians, among whom certain priests are guardians of traditions. Among the tribes of the northwest coast the chief of a family is the guardian and owner of the family tradition, while among the southwestern tribes the priest is the guardian of the tradition belonging to a clan or to a fraternity. My impression is, however, that among the northwestern

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, [illegible]

[2] Ibid., [illegible]

[illegible] in the early migration of the Bella Coola 174
tribe from the [illegible] tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern country. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on [illegible] River indicates a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia.

The traditions of the tribes also describe the [illegible] used by the 171
ancestors of certain [illegible]; and it is interesting to note that 174
some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use 177
among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the [illegible] that were in use
among the [illegible]. It is said that the ancestors of the [illegible] used the 342
subterranean lodge which is called [illegible], while the ancestors of the [illegible] used the [illegible] lodge which is called [illegible].

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners in the south, and since their traditions bear evidence 174
of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of that emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar endogamic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish?

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of 174
the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan
legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan 177
or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and 174
an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the
tradition as his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property 614
rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of his most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and once became into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a
serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that [144]
at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin,
of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their 174
supreme deity, [illegible], is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who
must be worshipped." The name [illegible] is also of Kwakiutl origin, 177
and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of 716

174 words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following
177 list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—
176
[183]

[illegible]

174 With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their
177 way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally
424 from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter,
614 owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan
[521] system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola.
174 If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish,
182 it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as
424 of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the
614 village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of
[591] both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and
[551] consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by
[621] each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the 174
property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was
more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this 183
reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the 434
Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is 614
quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic insti-
tutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to
note that the southern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized 171
in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a 174
notable difference in the organization of the village community, between the
Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find 631
four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is [173]
true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created
independently by Sun, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood
relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the
descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they
are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella
Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My inference is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella 174
Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes 177
upon the loose social unit of the Salish village community. The possession
of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire 434
developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by inter-
marriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these 614
traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. [562]
The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the
development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the
traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect 174
of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own
clan traditions. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are 434
remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known 614
raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families
as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition,
other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that
among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to
important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the
Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was
essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that
Totqoa'ya, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies
in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father,
the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast, they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Sensq or Tâ'ata have a remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha, the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from the Coast tribes is the kū'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 99) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē, who lives in the forests, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious inconsistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the world and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

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[113]

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 662 ff.

every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. 556
The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are 773
believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, 776
and rainbow. In the [illegible] these deities make their appearance, and
are represented by masks. [illegible] and [illegible] wear the 532
design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of [illegible] by a 575
double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over 776
forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. [illegible] has a double curved
line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead,
cheeks, and chin. [illegible] and [illegible] wear the design of
the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those
between the first and second masks. The fifth, [illegible] and
[illegible] have designs representing stars, both wearing the same
style of mask. The seventh is [illegible], whose face represents the
blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, [illegible] (who
wants to have blackish face), wears the design of the rainbow in
black and blue. The ninth, [illegible], wears on the head a mask representing
a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last
of the series is a woman called [illegible] (the eater), the sister of
the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with
grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued
by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sea. A man who 773
had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the 776
secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean 716
their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to
enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had
seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this
dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses
with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man,
later on, returned to the sea. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance 614
the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its 424
secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the 532
sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are
the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful [542]
carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the [534]
carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are
shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although 424
the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by 532
each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to 556
acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan 614
to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate [567]
children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a [848]
new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—
father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'elu'sta, the Indian, to whom I [115]

[illegible]

[illegible]

676 [illegible] my information regarding the clans and who is a member of the
773 gens [illegible] of the [illegible], stated that he had received a canoe
619 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[116] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his
[776] third potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get more [illegible] from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
676 crest, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a [illegible]
773 name, which remains through life, and a [illegible] name, which is
776 changed at these festivals. Thus, [illegible] (whom [illegible]
775 name) [illegible] name was [illegible], but at his next pot-
619 latch he intended to take the name of [illegible]. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several [illegible] secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their [illegible] secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his [illegible] secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[902] The crest and the [illegible] carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the [illegible] rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

926 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
386 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kü'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaũlikutsa'-
773 ai'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
776 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anaũlikutsa'ai'x· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kü'siut. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the